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WORD ORDER IN BRETON

by

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Abstract

The main objective of this thesis is to define the word order pattern of Breton. The most prominent characteristic of the language is that the first position in the sentence must be filled by a constituent X, where X = NP, PP, VP or V.

It is generally accepted that this property is linked to what may be described as a topicalization process operating on a VSO type base structure.

While it is accepted here that topicalization determines one type of surface structure, the present analysis makes a distinction between topicalized and neutral structures. In the former, the initial constituent is either NP, PP or VP, whereas in the latter, V is placed in front of an auxiliary.

This analysis also rejects the view that the underlying word order of Breton is SVO. The proposal is rejected on the grounds that derivations resulting from the application of transformations on a base structure of a SVO type are not confirmed elsewhere.

The syntactic nature of the infinitive in neutral root clauses and in topicalized VPs is also discussed, and it is concluded that this non-finite verb form is a verbal constituent.

The syntactic analysis of Breton outlined here maintains that VSO is the correct base order of constituents. Topics are generated in the base, but the structure of the neutral positive declarative root clause is derived by an obligatory transformation which shifts the main-verb around the auxiliary.

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*Ar gerioù, ar menozioù dindañ
furmioù ar maen un doare bezañ,
ur c'hiz kousket*

Paol Keineg
35 Haiku
Editions Bretagnes
Montroulez 1978

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Language

1.0 General presentation

Breton is still spoken in Brittany west of a line which cuts across the country from west of Sant Brieg (Saint-Brieuc) on the north coast to the mouth of the Gwilyn River (La Vilaine) on the south coast.

It is a celtic language, and it forms with Welsh and Cornish the Brythonic branch, whereas Scottish gaelic, Manx and Irish form the goidelic branch.

Breton is the only celtic language to have survived on the continent. Different viewpoints have been expressed as to why Breton is still a spoken language in that area. It was originally thought (Loth, 1883; La Borderie, 1896-1899) that the celtic language spoken today in Brittany was imported from the British Isles when large population movements took place in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, with an immigration into Brittany. The population involved in this movement came from the western part of Britain, Cornwall and Wales. It was generally accepted that the Armorican peninsula was almost depopulated, and that the ancient gaulish dialect spoken in the area had been superseded by a gallo-roman dialect during the time of the roman occupation. The celtic language was reintroduced by new colonising populations from overseas.

That view has been modified by more recent works: Chadwick (1965, 1969) and Bowen (1969), for instance, have argued that there was continuous communication between the Armorican Peninsula and the British Isles. Chadwick (1965) has also argued that the migration from the

British Isles to Armorica took place over a longer period of time than originally thought, beginning as early as the third century and lasting until the eighth century, with a peak period between the fourth and sixth centuries.

Fleuriot (1980) has suggested that the celtic dialects had survived on the continent and were sufficiently close to the dialects spoken in the British Isles for the new population to have adapted itself to the dialects and for them to have been accepted by the local people living in the Armorican peninsula. This explanation does not, however, account for the fact that the Cornish language is much closer to Breton than to Welsh.

1.1 The historical stages in the development of Breton

Historically, Breton is divided into four major periods, according to either the appearance of written records or changes in the orthography.

Primitive Breton for which there is no written record covers the period of colonisation and settlement of the emigrants from the British Isles.

The earliest written records may be traced back to the ninth century which marks the beginning of the Old Breton period, which lasted until the middle of the eleventh century. During that period Breton extended eastwards, nearly as far as Rennes, and later receded to the line from the Bay of Saint-Brieuc to the mouth of the river Vilaine, which is almost identical to the linguistic boundary of today. The written expression of Old Breton is largely restricted to glosses attached to Latin works.

The period of Middle Breton dates from the middle of the eleventh century to the seventeenth century. It is marked from the 15th century onwards, by a continuous flow of publications, including the first Breton dictionary, the "Catholicon" of Yann Lagadeuc, printed in Treguier in 1464. Middle Breton differs from Old Breton in its spelling and also in the influence of French and Romance , dialects on its vocabulary and grammar (Hemon, 1975).

Finally, there is the period of Modern Breton, which has been sub-divided into the Early and Late Modern Breton periods. One turning point is the publication of Le Gonidec's (1921) dictionary, which represented an attempt to codify and standardise the spelling system. This brief historical digression does not include the dialects which will be presented in relation to Modern Breton.

1. Modern Breton

Modern Breton may be divided into four major dialects in two groups. These are Bro-Dreger, Bro Leon and Bro Gerne in one group and Bro Wened on the other. Their geographical distribution is shown in figure 1. The three former dialects have been referred to as KLT since 1911, when the first attempt was made to produce a standardised spelling for the three dialects of Kerne, Leon and Tregor, henceforth KLT.

The syntax of the dialect of Bro-Wened does not differ dramatically from the others as can be judged from the grammar and the text books by Guillevic and Le Goff (1931) and by Herrieu (1979). The difference between the dialect of Bro-Wened and the KLT is very pronounced at the phonological level, including a stress on the ultimate syllable in Bro Wened whereas in the others stress is still on the penultimate

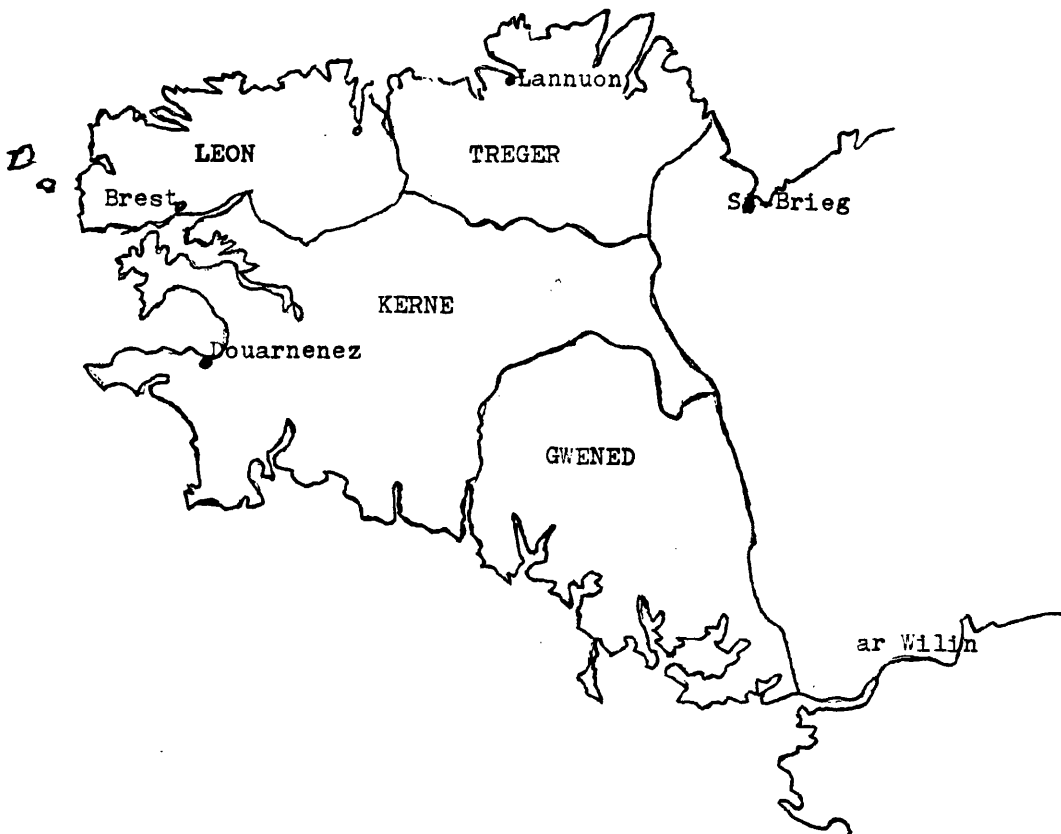


Figure I The main dialect regions

syllable as is found in the other celtic languages. For a more detailed review of the dialects and their historical development, the reader is referred to Jackson (1967, pp.15-76).

Of all aspects of Modern Breton, the spelling system is certainly the most thorny of all. Until Le Goff published his "Dictionnaire Celto-Breton" in 1921, there was no agreed spelling convention⁽¹⁾. Then in 1941 a system was adopted, which included the Bro Wened. It is referred to as the 'zh' or 'zedachek' spelling. Another system came into being after the war in 1955 under the influence of Le Falc'hun, and it is known as 'l' orthographe universitaire'.

Periodically a new attempt is made to unify the spelling system, at least in the KLT dialect, but with limited success⁽²⁾.

The most recent attempt was made in 1975 by a commission established by the Association 'Ar Falz'. As a result of this, the newspaper 'Pobl Vreizh' and the method Assimil (Morvannou, 1977) are published in this spelling.

The system used throughout this work is the traditional 'zh' spelling. Table I gives the correspondant spelling symbol for the phonological representation.

(1) Leclerc's grammar (1911) contains a declaration signed by the Association des Ecrivains Bretons in which they agreed to use a unified spelling for the KLT dialects.

(2) Jackson (1967, Appendix 1) gives a clear description of the various spelling systems and a brief historical account of their development.

Table 1.1 Vowels and consonants in Breton

Vowels

	nasals	semi-vowels
[i] i	[ĩ] in	
[e] e	[ẽ] en	[j] y, i
[ɛ] e, ae		[ɥ] w, u
[] a	[ã] an	[w] o, ou, w
[ɔ] o	[õ] on	
[o] o		diphthongs
[u] ou		[ae] ae
[y] u		[ao] av
[ø] eu		[ou] aou
[œ] eu	[œ̃]	[ei] ei

Consonants

voiceless	voiced
[p] p	[b] b
[t] t	[d] d
[k] k	[g] g
[f] f	[v] v
[s] s	[z] z
[ʃ] ch	[ʒ] j
[x] c'h	[ɣ] c'h
[h] h, c'h, zh	
[m] m, [ñ] n,	[] gn,
[l] l, [λ] lh,	[r] r

1.2 The Corpus (Sources)

I am a native speaker of the dialect of Bro-Dreger, having learned French only when I went to school. Most of my study will be based on my experience with and knowledge of that dialect. I should remark, however, that I have examined sources from all the other dialects including Bro-Wened. These are available in a number of regular publications in Breton, such as *Al Liamm*, *Hor Yezh*⁽³⁾, *Pobl Vreizh*, *Barr-Heol*, *Brud Nevez*, *Skrid*, *Al Lanv*, *Evit ar Brezhoneg*.

An important other source is the collection of the spoken Breton of Bro-Dreger by Jules Gros (1970, a,b; 1974). Gros, himself a native speaker of the dialect of Bro-Dreger, carefully compiled a collection of Breton as it was spoken, in the first part of this century. Certain written sources, in particular some of the texts published in the latter period of Middle Breton and Early Modern Period, may not reflect the reality of the language of the day. Authors were, in most cases, strongly influenced by their knowledge of Latin and French grammar. This is illustrated dramatically in the vocabulary, in the large number of French loan words and in the abundance of relative pronouns which, according to Hemon (1975, p.289) "never occur and probably never did occur in the spoken language". They are not used in Modern Literary Breton.

(3) *Hor Yezh* is primarily devoted to studies of the language including linguistic studies.

There exist also monthly magazines on audio-tape cassettes: Kazetenn ar Vro Plin, Kazetenn Bro-Dreger, Kazetenn ar Menez, for example, which proved to be valuable sources of material. The speakers on Kazetenn Bro-Dreger speak in the dialect of Bro-Dreger, but Bro-Plin being close to the south, includes speakers with different dialects.

Finally, during regular visits to Brittany, I have been able to consult neighbours and members of my family, all native speakers of Breton, and for whom Breton is still the everyday language.

1.3 The Aim of the Study

The present study is a syntactic analysis of modern Breton, with the object of defining the underlying and surface structures of the sentence. It is an attempt to establish the word order pattern at both the underlying and surface levels, and the rules relating one to the other.

Apart from a few exceptions, the syntax of Breton has not attracted much attention. However, a special mention should be made of the comprehensive study of the Breton of Douarnenez by Denis (1977). Other significant works on the syntax include articles by Urien and Denez (1977-89 and 1979-80), Denez (1973-74), Urien (1978) and Kervella (1978).

In the past decade Breton has also begun to attract the attention of American linguists through the articles published by Wojcik (1976, a,b), Anderson and Chung (1977), Anderson (1981) and a thesis by King (1980).

As mentioned earlier, Breton is a member of the celtic family of languages. It shows the characteristics attributed to VSO languages in Greenberg's Universals (1963):

The genitive follows the governing noun - Universal 2.

Breton has prepositions, and no postpositions - Universal 3.

There is a clause initial particle in questions - Universal 9.

No question particle or affix is specified in position in reference to a particular word in the sentence - Universal 10.

Interrogative words or interrogative phrases are always in clause initial position - Universal 12.

The adjective follows the noun - Universal 17.

The only universal attributed to VSO languages which Breton does not entirely respect is Universal 16. This specifies that, in VSO languages, an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In neutral positive declarative root clauses, the main verb precedes the tensed auxiliary.

(1) *Skrivañ a ra Goulven ul lizher*
write do(+pres) Goulven a letter

Goulven writes a letter.

However, in embedded clauses and negatives as well as in topicalized sentences, the auxiliary precedes the verb. Other languages with a VSO order of constituents have been reported to show the V Aux pattern noted in Breton. For instance, Steele (1975, p.215) cited Squamish, an Indian language from North America, in which the modal may either precede the verb or follow it.

Most of the textbooks describe Breton as a language with a very flexible word order pattern, which allows the most prominent constituent to occur in the initial position of the sentence. This apparent

flexibility is nevertheless counterbalanced by the rather rigid ordering of the constituents inside the clause (Denis, 1977, p.1075). Thus once the most prominent constituent is fronted, the linear order is relatively rigid, following the pattern illustrated below.

(2a) S V O Adjunct - *Annaig a gerc'ho bara evit koan*
Annaig fetch(+fut) bread for dinner
Annaig will fetch bread for dinner.

(2b) O V S Adjunct - *Bara a gerc'ho Annaig evit koan*
Bread fetch(+fut) Annaig for dinner
Annaig will fetch bread for dinner.

(2c) Adjunct V S O - *Evit koan e kerc'ho Annaig bara*
For dinner fetch(+fut) Annaig bread
Annaig will fetch bread for dinner.

In addition to these three types of structure, Breton also has:

2(d) V AUX S O Adjunct - *Kerc'het he deus Annaig bara evit koan*
Fetch have(+pres+3S) Annaig bread for dinner
Annaig will fetch bread for dinner.

(2e) Neg V S O Adjunct - *Ne gerc'ho ket Annaig bara evit koan*
Neg fetch(+fut) neg Annaig bread for dinner

2(f) $\begin{bmatrix} V & O \end{bmatrix}$ V S Adjunct- *Kerc'hat bara a raio Anna evit koañ*
 VP
 Fetch bread do+fut Anna for dinner
 Anna will fetch bread for dinner.

In embedded clauses, V S O is the only order of constituents, with the negated form neg V S O. The matrix verb always precedes the embedded verb as in (3).

(3) [*Lavaret he deus Annaig* [*e kerc'ho bara evit koan*]]
 S_1 said have(+pres+3S) S_2 Annaig fetch(+fut) bread for dinner

Annaig has said that she will fetch bread for dinner.

1.4 The Theoretical Framework

The present analysis of Breton syntax is conducted with reference to the framework of generative transformational grammar. It is the general theory developed by Chomsky and others since 1965, but closer to the extended standard theory (Chomsky, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1977). According to this theory the grammar is divided into four types of rules: base rules, transformational rules, phonological rules and semantic or interpretive rules. Only the first two are directly relevant to the present work, although no grammar would be complete without including the other two.

The base consists of two components, a lexicon and a categorial component. The latter includes the grammatical categories defined in terms of features and types.

The two major-distinctive features are $[\pm V]$ and $[\pm N]$, as presented by Bresnan (1976, p.19).

The types may vary depending on the number of levels allowed in the whole structure. Jackendoff (1977) has a three-bar level, allowing four category types X^0 , X^1 , X^2 , X^3 . Bresnan (1976) and (1981) proposed three types X^0 , X^1 , X^2 .

I shall adopt the double-bar system, as in Bresnan (1976), although the more traditional terminology (NP, PP and VP) has been adopted in the exposition of the analysis, until the last chapter.

The transformational component consists of rules which apply to the derivation generated by PS rules and to each successive derivation until the correct surface structure is obtained. Following Emonds (1976), it is generally accepted that there are two main types of transformation, structure preserving or major transformations and minor transformations, which reorder adjacent constituents which are not structure-preserving.

In the analysis of Breton which is followed here, the transformational component is reduced to the set of minor rules. It is claimed that topicalisation in Breton does not involve moving constituents from a position inside a clause to the front of S. Nor does it involve a WH-movement type of movement as described by Chomsky (1977).

1.5 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into seven sections, including the present introduction.

The next section (Chapter 2) entails a presentation of some grammatical aspects of the language. In particular, it covers those which are felt to be most relevant to the arguments presented in this work. It begins with a brief and elementary description of the mutation system. This is followed by a discussion of the nature and role of the verbal particles.

The verbal particles play an important role in the other Celtic languages. The particle 'a', which is common to Irish, Welsh, Cornish and Breton, has been regarded as a relative pronoun. In recent analyses of Welsh, Awbery (1977, pp. 157-9) and Harlow (1981, pp. 238-240) have reiterated the view that 'a' is a relative pronoun. Harlow has extended his analysis of the 'a' particle as a relative pronoun, to the Irish 'a'. McCloskey (1979, pp. 10-20) however, treated 'a' as a complementizer. The other verbal particles are generally regarded as complementizers by most authors.

In Breton, however, the particles can no longer be regarded as either a relative pronoun, in the case of 'a', nor as a complementizer, in the case of 'e'. Denez (1973-74) argued convincingly that the verbal particles in Breton are not used to indicate complementation of any kind.

It is not easy to establish the exact nature and function of these verbal particles in Breton. Nevertheless, Denez' analysis is confirmed here. One conclusion, which follows from the non-complementizing status of the verbal particles, is that Breton does not have an overt complementizer, and that a category node COMP should not really be maintained in the Phrase Structure Grammar of Breton. The absence of an overt complementizer has a direct effect on the syntax. It adds to

the importance of the ordering of the constituents. In matrix clauses the tensed element is in second position but in complement clauses it is in first position. In fact, all complement clauses are verb initial, and the matrix verb must always precede the embedded verb.

The final section of Chapter 2 contains an analysis of the perfective auxiliary 'eus' (have) which is unique in the Celtic languages. It is another example of how Breton is developing characteristics which are not shared by the other languages of the family.

In Chapter 3, I am concerned with establishing whether or not there is a neutral structure in Breton.

Urien (1978) claimed that no structure in the language could be regarded as a neutral structure.

Anderson and Chung (1977), and Anderson (1981), like Urien (1978) and Trepos (1967) and many others, regarded structures of the form V AUX X as topicalized structures rather than neutral structures.

However, it will be demonstrated that the structure $\left[\bar{V} \text{ AUX } \bar{X} \right]$ in the neutral positive declarative sentence, is the natural counterpart to the negative structure: $\left[\bar{\text{Neg}} \text{ V } \bar{X} \right]$. The argument is based partly on analysing 'ober' in $\left[\bar{V} \text{ AUX } \bar{X} \right]$ as an auxiliary, and partly on the contrast between the rule of topicalization and the rule fronting the main verb.

Chapter 4 deals with the nature of the constituent formed by the infinitive and its complements. Although the infinitive verb is often referred to as the verbal noun (Denis, 1977; Kervella, 1976; Trepos, 1968) it will be argued that it is not a nominalised form.

Derived nominals show some of the properties of nouns, but infinitives do not, while, however, retaining some characteristics of verbs. There is insufficient evidence in the internal structure of infinitive Verb Phrases to indicate beyond doubt that they are nominals. Topic is a position open to prepositional as well as noun-phrases, therefore the fact that Verb Phrases occur under topic weakens the argument that they must be noun phrases.

Chapter 5 is an evaluation of an attempt to reconcile the conflicting facts resulting from the presence of a VP in a VSO language. A transformational analysis could prove to be the most adequate framework for deriving a VP from an underlying ^S while maintaining VSO as the base order of constituents. However, the transformational analysis by which VPs are derived from underlying S₅ proves not to be adequate, for reasons specific to the language itself. There is no reason to support the view that an S node should be pruned and replaced by VP after the subject has been erased through equi-deletion. Subjectless sentences are grammatical and they are not of the same syntactic category as VPs.

Further complications arise with the presence of the perfective auxiliary which can be realised as 'eus' for most verbs, but as 'bezan' for some. Whether the auxiliary is inserted in the base by phrase structure rules or in the derivation, by a rule of auxiliary insertion, the derived surface structures are ungrammatical.

The view expressed by Emonds (1979) is taken into consideration in Chapter 6. He argued that Breton has an underlying word order of SVO, allowing a VP constituent in the base. Through a combination of

root transformations and local transformations (in Emonds terminology) the surface structure word order pattern Topic V S O and V S O are derived from the base order S V O. The main objection to Emonds' analysis is that the application of transformations and the restriction on the base structure combine to create structures which are not found elsewhere in the language. The topicalization rule applied to the subject does not bring any alteration in the linear order of the constituents, therefore applying vacuously. The conclusion is that S V O is not the correct underlying word order for Breton.

The objective of Chapter 7 is to bring together the various, and sometimes contradictory, facts outlined in the previous sections. The language has a base order of V S O and the syntactic categories include a V P. The main problem is how to relate the two constituents V P and S, as it has further been shown that the VP is not derived from an underlying S by transformation.

The proposal made by Gazdar and Sag (1980) to relate VP and S by metarule, in the framework of the Generalised Phrase Structure Grammar, is examined. However, the idiosyncratic properties of the auxiliary '*ober*' cannot be adequately explained in a Phrase Structure Grammar. Furthermore, in this analysis VP turns out to be most basic constituent of the grammar, because S is derived from VP by metarule. However, if every verb in the language is inserted in a sentential context, only the non-stative verbs occur in the Topic. A whole class of verbs does not occur in VP. For these reasons the framework of the Generalised Phrase Structure Grammar has not been adopted.

The second part of the chapter presents the analysis adopted for Breton in terms of X-bar syntax. Topics are generated by the Phrase

Structure rules, but a few transformations are maintained, in order to account for the main-verb auxiliary inversion of the root clause. It is also claimed that topicalization is best accounted for by the general principal of bound anaphora described by Reinhart (1980).

CHAPTER II

A FEW SELECTED ASPECTS OF BRETON

2.0 In this chapter I shall present and discuss certain aspects of the language which are related to the arguments developed in this study.

First of all there is a brief and elementary description of the mutations. Then follows an analysis of what may be broadly referred to as preverbal particles, since they are placed immediately to the left of the verb. They include the verbal particles 'a' and 'e', the subordinative conjuncts 'ma' and 'pa' and the negative particle 'ne'. This is done in order to decide whether there is sufficient ground for having a COMP before S.

The pronominal system will also be outlined, as the rule of topicalization interacts with the presence or absence of pronouns within the clause.

The last section is devoted to the perfective auxiliary 'eus' and aims to show that it should be considered as a lexical entry and not a mere form of 'bezañ' (to be).

2.1 The mutation system

Like the other celtic languages, Breton has a fairly complex system of mutations. Under certain circumstances, the initial consonant of a word may be altered. In some cases, mutation is determined by the preceding morpheme, in other cases by grammatical features such as person, gender and number.

The opposition between *'pik'* (spot) and *'pig'* (magpie) which are both realised as *['pit]* is marked by the mutation of the initial segment of the feminine *'pik'* (magpie) after the article. The adjective is also affected by the mutation.

<i>ar big</i> (feminine)	<i>ar pik</i> (masculine)
the magpie	the spot
<i>ar big vras</i>	<i>ar pik bras</i>
the magpie big	the spot big
the big magpie	the big spot

The set of mutations presented below is identical to the mutation system given in the major textbooks: Hemon (1963); Denez (1972); Kervella (1976). This is not a phonetic classification: Falc'hun (1951; Chapter 9); Denis (1977); and Hemon (1975, Chapter 1) have produced detailed phonetic descriptions of the mutations. The system described here is that used in modern literary Breton. There are more mutations in spoken Breton than in the written form.⁽¹⁾ Falc'hun (1951) made a comparison of the systems used in the written and spoken forms.

Five mutations are given here. The non-mutation [- mutation] is represented because it conveys as much grammatical information as

(1) See Jackson, 1967, p.367.

He advanced a number of reasons for this, including perhaps the conservative attitude of the grammarians.

any of the other four. In the set [- mutation] the sound [K] changes to [X] which has the orthographic representation 'c'h'.

In most textbooks the mutations are classified as follows: mutation by lenition, by spiration, by provection and the mixed mutation. The latter in the literary language is a combination of mutation by lenition for certain segments and provection for one other segment. It has been given a category of its own because it is triggered by three morphemes which are: the preverbal 'e', the conjunct 'ma' and the progressive marker 'o'.

The presentation of the mutations which is shown below is very elementary. Its aim is to provide the reader with a simple guide through the spelling variations resulting from the various mutations.

mutation by lenition

p → b	b → v	d → z
t → d	m → n	g → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} c'h \quad [\gamma] \\ \phi \quad -w \end{array} \right\}$
k → g		

mutation by spiration

p → f
t → z
k → c'h [γ]

mutation by provection

b → p

d → t

g → k

the mixed mutation

m → v

g → c'h [y]

d → t

b → v

the non-mutation + k → c'h

p → p

b → b

t → t

d → d

k → c'h [x]

g → g

Table 2. illustrates how the different mutations combine into the possessive construction:

TABLE

2.1 the mutations and the possessive pronouns

Person	Pronoun	Mutation	p	t	k	b	d	g	m
			<i>paotr</i>	<i>tad</i>	<i>karr</i>	<i>bag</i>	<i>dorn</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>mestr</i>
			boy	father	car	boat	hand	leg	master
1S	ma	spiration	faotr	zad	c'harr	bag	dorn	gar	mestr
2S	da	lenition	baotr	dad	garr	vag	zorn	c'har	vestr
3SM	e	lenition	baotr	dad	garr	vag	zorn	c'har	vestr
3SF	he	spiration	faotr	zad	c'harr	bag	dorn	gar	mestr
1P	hon (hor, hol)	-mutation	paotr	tad	c'harr	bag	dorn	gar	mestr
2P	ho	provection	paotr	tad	karr	pag	torn	kar	mestr
3P	o	spiration	faotr	zad	c'harr	bag	dorn	gar	mestr

2.2 The verbal particles 'a' and 'e'

2.20 The use of the particles

Modern literary Breton has two preverbal particles 'a' and 'e' which occur before all verbs except before 'bezan' and 'eus'. The textbooks prescribe a rule for the correct use of 'a' and 'e': use the particle 'a' whenever the subject or the object precedes the verb; use 'e' in all other cases.

The particles cause the mutation of the initial consonant of the following verb. 'a' induces lenition and 'e' induces the mixed mutation.

The verb in (1) and (2) is 'diskenn' (to go down). In (1) 'd' changes to 'z' by lenition; in (2) 'd' changes to 't' after 'e' which causes mixed mutation.

(1) *Ar baotred a ziskenn betek ar stêr*

NP part V

The men go down to the river

(2) *Betek ar stêr e tiskenn ar baotred*

PP prep NP part V NP

To the river go down the men

The men go down to the river

The particles 'a' and 'e' are easily deleted, particularly in fast speech, leaving the mutation as the only evidence of the particle and as the only evidence of the distinction between 'a' and 'e'. In the written form, the particles are often replaced by an apostrophe.

(3) *Ar baotred 'ziskenn abred*

The men go down early.

An epithetic consonant [x], [h] or [z] may be inserted between the particle and the verb when the initial segment is a vowel.

(4) *Conery ac'h ev gwin*

Conery part drinks wine

Conery drinks wine.

There is a discrepancy between literary Breton on the one hand and the dialects on the other. The rule for literary Breton requires that 'a' be used in constructions of the type NP V X, only when NP is either the subject or the object. 'e' has to be used in NP V X constructions if the NP stands in a neither subject nor object relation to the verb. In addition, 'e' is also used when the proposed constituent is a predicative adjective or noun, or an adverb. In all dialects 'a' is used whenever the main verb alone, or the main verb and its object NP, is placed to the left of the auxiliary 'ober', which may be translated as the English "do".

(5)	<i>Lenn</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>Anna</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>levr</i>
	V	part	Aux	NP		
	read		do+Pres.		the	book
	Anna reads the book					

(6)	<i>Lenn</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>levr</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>Anna</i>
	VP			part	Aux	NP
	Read	the	book		do+Pres.	
	Anna reads the book					

Some dialects have only one particle 'a' and the lenition mutation. In his extensive study of the Breton spoken in Douarnenez (Bro-Gerne) Denis (1977) stated that in this dialect, there is no opposition between 'a' and 'e'. Speakers use only 'a' with lenition. Habask (1980, p.114) mentioned that in the dialect of Pont-n-Abad (Bro-Vigouden) 'a' is the only particle.

In Bro-Dreger 'a' is preferred to 'e' in all circumstances, (Gros, 1974, p.166). Certainly in Le Brigant (1779) 'a' is the only particle and lenition the only mutation. In Jackson's 'Phonology of the Breton dialect of Plougrescant' (1967) both particles are reduced to an unstressed [ə] in the phonetic transcription. It is not possible to determine whether the two types of mutations corresponding to the two particles are used by the informants as in none of the initial segments of the verbs following 'e' shown in the orthographic transcription is there a difference between the mixed mutation from those of the lenition mutation (i.e., none begin with d).

Finally, as a native speaker of the dialect of Bro-Dreger, I use 'a' only and follow it with lenition, as do all my family and informants in the area.

However clear and simple the above rule for 'a' and 'e' appears to be, it is not accurate for either spoken or written Breton. A NP which does not stand in a subject or object relationship with the verb can be preposed and the particle may be 'a' or 'e', thus not respecting the rule, as is shown in the examples (7) to (12) which are taken from Kervella (1976) and Denez (1972). In (7) to (10) the particle is 'a' and in (11) and (12) it is 'e' as it should be according to the rule specified at the beginning of the section.

(7)	<i>Anna</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>zo</i>	<i>graet</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>labour</i>	<i>ganti</i>	(Kervella, 1976, p.420).
	NP		Aux	Past Part	NP		PP	
		part	is	done	the	work	with + 3SF	

The work is done by Anna.

- (8) *An den a skrivas Pêr ul lizher dezhañ* (Kervella, 1976, p.420)
 NP part V+past NP NP PP

The man wrote Peter a letter to + 3SM

The man to whom Peter wrote a letter.

- (9) *E zaoulagad a oa liv ar goad warnezh* (Kervella, 1976, p. 380)
 NP part be + past NP PP

His eyes were colour of blood on + 3P

His eyes were bloodshot.

- (10) *Ma mamm ha me, pa oamp hon unanig*
 My mother and I, when be+Past+1P our own
er gêr, hag alies e vezemp, a blije deomp
 part V+past+1P, part V+past PP
 at home, and often were liked to + 1P
sellout evel dout ouzh ar bae hag ouzh ar vro
 V + inf PP PP
 look like you at the bay and at the country

(Denez, 1972,p191)

When my mother and I were on our own at home, and we often were,
 we liked to look at the bay and at the countryside.

- (11) *Ar vro e savas e di enni* (Kervella, 1976, p. 421)
 NP part V+past PP

The country built + 3P his house in + 3SF

The country in which he built his house.

- (12) *Ar prad e kerc'has foenn anezhañ* (Kervella, 1976, p.421)
 NP part V + past NP PP
 The meadow fetched hay from + 3SM

The meadow from which he/she fetched hay.

Gros (1974, p.167) acknowledged that in Bro-Dreger at least 'a' is used whenever the preposed constituent is a word to which the speaker wants to draw attention.

Urien (1978, pp. 37-54) argued that in the constructions NP V X the choice between 'a' and 'e' is not determined by the grammatical relationship between the preposed NP and the verb. It is determined by a topic versus focus distinction. There is a contrast between the pair (13a) and (13b). In (13a), a comma or a pause intervenes after the initial NP 'ar sal-se', but this does not happen in (13b).

- (13a) *Ar sal-se, e teuemp di da zebriñ hol lein*
 NP-demonst. part V+past+ Prep V+inf
 1P
 That room we came in to eat our lunch

- (13b) *Ar sal-se a zeuemp di da zebriñ hol lein*
 NP V+past+1P Prep V+inf

We came into that room to eat our lunch.

The terms 'topic' and 'focus' correspond to 'left dislocation' and 'topic' respectively in Chomsky's framework (1977, pp. 71-133).

This contrast is further illustrated in (14a) and (14b) by the obligatory presence of a resumptive pronoun in the left-dislocated structure, whereas the topicalized structure (14b) contains none.

- (14a) *Ar vugale, e kavoc'h anezho en tu*
 The children part find (+fut+2P) them in+the side
all d'ar porzh
 other of the yard

The children, you will find them on the other side of the yard.

- (14b) *Ar vugale a gavoc'h en tu all d'ar porzh*
 The children part find (+fut+2P) in+the side other of the yard

You will find the children on the other side of the yard.

Urien (1978) concluded from his field work that the contrast between (14a) and (14b) was not a feature of the spoken language. He found that his informants resorted to a different structure when asked to reproduce a left dislocated form. Examples (15a) to (15e)⁽²⁾ have the linear configuration NP, X V Y. (15a) is the topicalised sentence, (15b) the left dislocated structure with the particle "e" and (15c), (15d) and (15e) are left dislocated structures using the configuration NP, X V Y.

(2) Examples (15b), (15c) and (15d) are taken from Urien (1978).

(15a) and (15e) are mine.

- (15a) *Ar beizanted a zzeu filc'hier ganto*
 The peasants part came forks with + 3P

The farmers brought forks with them.

- (15b) *Ar beizanted, e teue filc'hier ganto*
 The peasants, part came forks with + 3P

The farmers, they brought forks with them.

- (15c) *Ar beizanted, filchier a deue ganto*
 The peasants, forks part came with
 NP NP

The farmers, they brought forks with them.

- (15d) *Ar beizanted, bez e teue filc'hier ganto*
 The peasants (focus particle) part came forks with + 3P

As (15c).

- (15e) *Ar beizanted, dont a rae filc'hier ganto*
 The peasants, come (inf) part did forks with + 3P

As (15c).

It would appear then that the distinction between the 'a' particle and the 'e' particle is not felt to convey adequately the contrast a speaker wishes to make between a sentence of the form (15a) which contains only a topic⁽³⁾, and (15b) which is meant to express greater

(3) Focus may be a more appropriate term when evaluating degrees of emphasis in the discourse. However, I shall use 'left dislocation' and 'topic' throughout this work, because I shall be concerned with syntactic processes and not discourse grammar.

emphasis on the first constituent. By using a structural difference and placing a constituent to the immediate left of the verb after the pause, the speaker removes any chance of an ambiguous interpretation. The choice of 'a' or 'e' is no longer determined by the left-dislocation versus topic distinction, at least in the spoken language.

Urien (1978) also found that the 'a'/'e' distinction is not widely used in written Breton for contrasting left dislocation and topic. This particular use of "a" and "e" in the context NP V X has become a matter of style. It does not exist for most of the native speakers. It would seem that those who make the distinction do so only in careful speech, as for example in church.

The most general rule for using 'a' and 'e' is then: use 'a' whenever an NP, an infinitive or an infinitive VP precedes the verb. Use 'e' elsewhere including before an embedded finite verb. I shall conform to this rule, as it is the one most generally adopted in modern written Breton.

2.21 Nature and role of the verbal particles

2.210 'a' and 'e' are clitics

Whether it is realised as 'a' or 'e', the particle is a weak form. It satisfies the criteria listed in Zwicky (1977) for defining clitics. It is considered below in terms of these criteria.

(i) It is attached to the tensed verb

When the main verb is non-finite, either an infinitive or a past participle, the initial consonant is not mutated, thus indicating the absence of the particle. The initial 'k' of 'kemer' (to take) is

unaltered in (16) and (17).

- (16) *Lavaret ez eus bet da Anna kemer ar baner*
said is been to Anna take (+inf) the basket
Anna has been told to take the basket.

- (17) *Kemeret he deus Anna ar baner*⁽⁴⁾
taken has Anna the basket
Anna has taken the basket.

The clitic remains on the left of the tensed element, auxiliary 'ober' when the infinitive main-verb is preposed.

- (18) *Kemer a ra Anna ar baner*
Take do(es) Anna the basket
Anna takes the basket.

- (ii) No free form intervenes between the clitic and the strong constituent

As a bound morpheme the particle cannot be separated from the strong form with which it is in construction.

(19a) is grammatical, but not (19b) and (19c) because of the presence of a noun and an adverb between the particle and the verb.

(4) The perfective auxiliary is not preceded by a verbal particle, nor is possessive 'eus' (have) because the clitic slot is filled by the clitic pronoun - see section 2. 7, p.

(19a) *Ar vugale a vale buan*
The children part walk fast

(19b) **Buan a ar vugale bale*
Fast part the children walk

(19c) **Ar vugale a buan bale*
The children part fast walk

(iii) Fixed position

The particle is always placed to the left of the tensed verb. It cannot be moved to the right.

(20) **Ar vugale bale a buan*
The children walk part fast

(iv) It does not bear stress. The particle is often realised as a shwa [ə] or even deleted.

(21a) *Lenaig a zebro si:vi*
Lenaig eat (+fut) strawberries

Lenaig will eat strawberries

(21b) [*le'naiɿ a 'zebro 'si:vi*]

(21c) [le'nait̚ 'zebro 'si:vi]

(21d) *[le'nait̚ 'a 'zebro 'si:vi]

(21d) is incorrect because the particle is stressed.

The particle seems to be no more than an inflection of the tensed verb. In that respect it resembles the French clitics 'le, la, les'.

The only reason for treating the particle as a clitic form, as opposed to an inflection, is that the mutations are caused by free morphemes too. For instance, the numerals 'daou', 'div' (two, masculine and feminine) degree words: 're' (too much), 'hanter' (half) induce the soft mutation of the initial consonant of the following word.

In (22) 'k' alters to 'g' in "krignet" (gnawed) and in (23), 'b' changes to 'v' in 'brav' (nice).

(22) *Hanter grignet eo an aval*

Half gnawed is the apple

The apple is half gnawed.

(23) *Re vrav eo an amzer da chom er gêr*

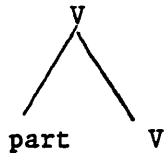
Too nice is the weather to stay in+the home

It is too nice to stay home.

The rule for lenition may be stated in a unitary way if it is considered to be induced by a preceding morpheme in all cases.

In conclusion the particle is a clitic to V. This is represented by the structure (24).

(24)



2.211 Distribution

Both 'a' and 'e' share the same distribution relative to other constituents.

- (i) Both are mutually exclusive with the negative particle 'ne', in independent sentences, matrix and embedded clauses

(25) *Bremañ e skriv ul lizher*
 now part write+pres a letter

He writes a letter now.

(26) *Bremañ ne skriv ket ul lizher*
 now neg write+pres neg a letter

He does not write a letter now.

(27) [*Lavarout a ra Anna [e preno an ti ruz]*]
 say part do part buy+fut the house red

Anna says that she will buy the red house.

- (28) [*Ne lavar ket Anna [e preno an ti ruz]]*
 neg say neg part buy the house red

Anna does not say that she will buy the red house.

- (29) [*Lavarout a ra Anna [ne breno ket an ti ruz]]*
 say part do neg buy+fut neg the house red

Anna says that she will not buy the red house.

Ungrammaticality results from the presence of the negative particle and the particle 'a' or 'e'.

- (30) **Breman ne e skrivan ket ul lizher*
 now neg part write+is neg a letter

- (31) **Ul lizher ne a skrivan ket*
 a letter neg part write+is neg

- (ii) The verbal particle ('a' or 'e') is mutually exclusive with the conjuncts 'ma' (whether, if) and 'pa' (when)⁽⁵⁾

- (32) *Dont a raio Yann da gêr pa : garo*
 come part do+fut to home when like+inf

Yann will come home when he likes.

(5) In the Breton of Douarnenez, Denis (1977) has found that 'ma' and the particle 'a' can be used together. 'ma' becomes 'mag' before the vowel 'a'. In literary Breton and other dialects 'ma' and 'a' are mutually exclusive.

- (33) *Dont a raio Yann da gêr ma kar*
 come part do+fut to home if/when like+pres

Yann will come home if he wants to.

(iii) The verbal particle is not exclusive with the interrogative particle 'ha'

- (34) *Ha dont a ri da gêr*
 come part do+fut+2S to home

Will you come home.

The verbal particle is mutually exclusive with the negative particle 'ne' and the conjuncts 'ma' and 'pa'. It is retained in interrogative sentences introduced by the particle 'ha' and by WH words.

2.212 The verbal particle as an assertive particle

There are two reasons why 'a' / 'e' cannot be treated as an assertive particle.

- (i) 'a' and 'e' occur in assertive sentences such as

- (35) *me a lavar deoc'h ec'h on mestr er gêr*
 I part tell to+2P part am boss at home

I tell you that I am the boss at home.

The particle also occurs in sentences which are asserted as can be judged from the contrasting sentences (36) and (37).

(36) *Lavarout a ran dit e vo Anna aze*
tell part do+1S to+2S part be+fut Anna there

I tell you that Anna will be there.

(37) *N'eo ket da lavarout e vo Anna aze*
neg is neg to say part be+fut Anna there

It is unlikely that Anna will be there.

In (36) the speaker commits himself or herself to the truth of the proposition and is in no doubt that Anna will be there. In (37), the speaker is casting serious doubts on the possibility of Anna being there. The particle is present whether the embedded sentence is asserted or not.

(ii) The fact that the verbal particle is retained in sentences introduced by the interrogative particle 'ha' also indicates that it cannot be an assertive particle, e.g., example (34).

2.213 The particles as complementisers

The particle 'a' is commonly regarded as the relative pronoun in Breton: Hemon (1963, p.76), Kervella (1976, p.419), Gros (1974, p.126). This is because 'a' occurs in NP V X structure.

Similarly, 'e' has been presented as the subordinate marker before complement clauses; it so happens that 'e' is the first element before

the embedded verb.

Denez (1973) has clearly demonstrated that 'a' is not a relative pronoun and that 'e' is not a subordinative conjunct.

His analysis is based on the distribution of 'a', and the fact that it occurs in the complement clause of the relativized NP, and in the root clause.

- (38) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[A1} \\ \text{labous} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[a} \\ \text{glaskit} \end{array} \right] \right] \quad \text{a zo ivez labous ar Gaou!}$
 NP The bird s search+2S is too bird the lie s

The bird you are looking for is also the bird of lies.

quoted from Denez, 1973-74 (p.263, no.54).

The particle "a" is not a sufficient condition for relativization. If the order of the clauses is inverted we obtain a different sentence with a different meaning.

- (39) [A1 labous [a zo ivez labous ar Gaou] a glaskit]
 NP The bird is too bird the lie search+2S

You are looking for the bird that is also the bird of lies.

That 'a' is not a necessary condition for complementation is corroborated by the absence of 'a' in negative clauses, and in affirmative clauses with a reflexive verb or a clitic object pronoun on the left of the verb.

- (40) *Ar bara na vo ket debret a vo skoet d'an evned*

The bread neg be+fut neg eaten be+fut thrown to the birds

The bread which is not eaten will be thrown to the birds.

(41) *Dastumet eo bet ar baotred en em garne war plasenn ar bourk*
collected is been the men reflex fought on square the village

The men who were fighting one another on the village square have
been taken away (by the police).

(42) *An hini o gwelas ne lavaro netra*
The one them saw+past neg say+fut nothing

The person who saw them will say nothing.

There are a few verbs which are not preceded by the particles 'a' or 'e':

eman locative be (43)

eus perfective or
possessive have (44)

eo present tense of 'to be' (45)

(43) *An tiez eman o zoenn warnezho*

The houses be+locative their roof on + them

ne vefont ket diskaret

neg be+fut+3P neg pulled down

The houses with their roofs on will not be pulled down.

(44) *Ar pesk en doa tapet oa re vihan*

The fish had+3S taken was too small

The fish he caught was too small.

(45) *Ar re eo frank an arc'hant ganto a c'hell bevañ aes*

The ones is large the money with+them can live easy

Those who have plenty of money can have an easy life.

The same analysis carries over for the particle 'e' which occurs before the tensed verb in embedded clauses, but also before the tensed verb in root clauses

The particle 'e', can no more than 'a' be a sufficient condition for complementation. The complement clause introduced by 'e' cannot be pre-posed.

(46a)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Gouzout a reen} \\ \text{know did+past+1S} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} e \text{ vije bet kaset an traou ganeoc'h} \\ \text{be+cond been taken the things with + you} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

_{S₁ S₂}

I knew that you would have taken everything.

(46b)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} e \text{ vije bet kaset an traou ganeoc'h} \\ \text{be(+cond) been taken the things by + you} \end{array} \right] e \text{ ouien}$$

_{S₂ S₁}

That you would have taken everything I knew.

In neither case can 'a' and 'e' be considered as marking complementation

(6).

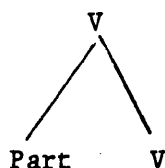
(6) In King's (1980) analysis of Breton relativization the particles 'a' and 'e' are regarded as relativizers - she has adopted the most traditional view and has not taken into consideration alternatives to that analysis, in particular that of Denez (1973).

2.214 Do the verbal particles have a function?

As they cannot be complementizers or assertive particles, the function or role played by the particles is difficult to assess.

Denis (1977) has suggested two functions for the particles. Firstly, they indicate that the position before the verb must be filled, in other words the tensed verb cannot be sentence initial. Secondly, they act as a link between the initial constituent and the verb.

It has been established earlier (section 2) that the particles are clitics and that they are dominated by the node V.



The constraint which prevents the tensed verb from being in the first position also applies to its clitics. It applies to the reflexive marker and the clitic object pronoun in the same way.

(47) **en em gann ar vugale*
 reflex fight the children

(48) **ho kwelin diriaou*
 you see(+fut+1S) Thursday

(49) **a red ar c'hi*
 run the dog

Denis' argument is based on the fact that in imperative affirmatives the verb is not preceded by a constituent. The absence of mutation indicates that the particle is not present.

Imperative

kan

**a gan*

I would have liked to suggest that the presence of the particle is linked with tense, as there is no evidence that the imperative is a tense form - there is no opposition of tense in that mood, whereas the indicative and conditional contain more than one tense.

The argument is weakened by the fact that imperative verbs can be negated by 'na', and undergo soft mutation. A more decisive line of evidence is to be drawn from the form taken by the finite in short answers.

The short affirmative answer to a negated yes/no question can be either the affirmative particle 'ya', the same verb as used in the question, or the anaphoric 'ober', without mutation.

(50)	<i>c'hwri n'eot ket?</i>	<i>gin</i>
	you neg go(+fut+2S neg).	go(+fut+1S)
	Will you go?	I will go

(51)	<i>Ne gavit ket mat ma meuz?</i>	<i>kavan̄.</i>
	neg find(+pres+2P) neg good my meal?	I find
	Don't you like my meal?	I do.

It seems then that the particles are present only when the verb cannot come in first position in a full sentence⁽⁷⁾.

The second suggestion that the function of the particle is to create a link between the verb and the initial constituent is not convincing. The linking role is said to be syntactic in NP V X constructions whenever the preposed NP is the subject or the object as in (52). The link is described as semantic if the constituent to the left of V cannot suggest a subject or object relationship to the verb, for instance a PP or an Adv.P. (53).

(52) [*Ma a'hi*] *a red war-ler'ch ar gedon*

NP My dog runs after the hares

My dog runs after the hares.

(53) [*Warlec'h a gedon*] *e red ma c'hi*

PP After the hares runs my dog

My dog runs after the hares.

⁽⁷⁾Anderson & Chung (1977) and King (1980) have mentioned that occasionally the particle 'e' can introduce a root clause. This, however, occurs only under certain discourse conditions and ought not to be related to sentence grammar (see Dressler, 1972, pp. 153-169).

What kind of link is there to be found between the NP preposed from an embedded clause and the first verb in the matrix clause?

(54) *Gwelout a rae ar vamm-gozh gant plijadur*

see do+past the grandmother with pleasure

e tebre ar vugale ur bern krampouezh

eat+past the children a lot pancakes

The grandmother saw with delight that the children ate a lot of pancakes.

(55) [*ur bern krampouezh*] [*a wele ar vamm-gozh*
NP S₁

A lot pancakes see+past the grandmother

gant plijadur [*e tebre ar vugale*]
S₂

with pleasure eat+past the children

The grandmother saw with delight that the children ate a lot of pancakes.

The answer is none, the NP in topic position does not hold a semantic relationship with the first verb in the sequence. The semantic relationship holds between the NP and the whole sentence, and more specifically the empty position in S₂.

The verbal particle, whether it is realised as 'a' or 'e', is not a necessary condition for either role, preventing the verb from being in first position, and acting as a link between the first constituent and the verb.

The particles are not present in negative constructions, nor before certain verbs: *eman*, *eus*, *eo*. They are also absent whenever the clitic slot on the left of the verb is filled by the reflexive marker, or the object clitic.

The arguments used against treating 'a' and 'e' as complementizers are also valid here.

We come to a somewhat inconclusive ending. Although it has been possible to explain that the particles are neither complementizers nor assertive particles, it has not been possible to define exactly what role or function they currently play in Modern Breton.

However, the conclusion most relevant to this work is that the verbal particles are not complementizers⁽⁸⁾. The fact that a specific definition of these terms is impossible should not however materially affect the main thrust of the subsequent analysis.

2.3 'Pa' and 'Ma'

2.30 'Pa' and 'ma' have been classified as subordinative conjuncts by the grammarians (Leclerc, 1911; Hemon, 1975; Trepos, 1968; Denez, 1972). Hemon (1975, p.297) described 'pa' as a temporal but also causal, hypothetical and concessive conjunct. 'Ma' indicates condition, goal. These

(8) Breton differs from other Celtic languages in that respect. The Welsh particles 'a' and 'y' corresponding to Breton 'a' and 'e' respectively are restricted to complement clauses (Jones and Thomas, 1977, p.333). In Irish, too, the preverbal particles have retained their complementizing function (McCloskey, 1979, Chapter V).

two morphemes have been viewed as subordinative conjuncts because they introduce complement clauses of VSO type. VSO is the constituent order required in direct complement clauses, whereas, in independent and root clauses the verb cannot be in the first position.

(56) *Mont a refomp er-maez pa dorro an avel*

Go do(+fut+1P) out when break(+fut) the wind

We shall go out when the wind drops.

(57) *Kemer un tamm bara ma az peus naon*

Take a piece bread if have+2S hunger

Take a piece of bread if you are hungry.

The order of constituents is also restricted to VSO after WH words and prepositions. However, other conjuncts and disjuncts do not require a verb-initial clause. 'Rak' (because) and 'met' (but) are followed by a clause of XVS0 type, as shown in (58) and (59).

(58) *N'eo ket deuet e c'hoar rak klanv e oa* (Kervella, 1976, p.36)

Neg is neg come his sister because ill was

His sister did not come because she was ill.

- (59) *Deuet a-walc'h e vije, met fall e oa an amzer* (Kervella, 1976, p.363)
 Come probably be(+cond+3S) but bad was the weather

He would probably have come but the weather was bad.

The coordinative 'ha' (and) and *peogwir* allow XVS0 or VSO

- (60) *...peogwir mamm e lavar din on oblijet da vont* (Denis, 1977)
 ...since mother tells to + 1S be+1S obliged to go

...since mother tells me I have to go.

- (61) *Bale a ran buan peogwir on chomet re bell* (Desbordes, 1976)
 Walk do+1S fast because be(+pr+1S) stayed too long

I walk fast because I have stayed too long.

- (62) *Prenet en doa ur vuoc'h ha chanchet e oa e vuhez*
 Bought had+3S a cow and changed was his life
 (Skol Vreizh, 1978, p.75)

He bought a cow and his life was changed.

'Pa' and 'ma' impose the same restriction on the following clause (VSO) as the preposition, and the WH words, but not the other conjuncts.

A) WH words

prepositions - V X Y
 [+ tense]

'pa'

'ma'

B) Conjunctions - X V Y

'Pa' and 'ma' appear in the preverbal positions in the sentence in the same way as WH words and prepositions. They are traditionally said to mark subordination; nonetheless, they introduce a type of complement clause somewhat different to the direct complement clauses which are not marked by any special complementizer.

Do 'pa' and 'ma' form a group of their own or do they show any property which may enable them to belong to either one of the other categories, i.e., WH words, prepositions or complementizers? It would be rather interesting to see whether they may be analysed as complementizers especially as no such morpheme shows up in direct complement clauses.

2.31 'Pa' and 'ma' as WH words

These two morphemes are mutually exclusive with the WH words (or P words) 'piv' (who), 'pe' (which), 'pelec'h' (where), 'pegoulz' (when), to list only some of them. Examples (63) and (64) in which a complement clause is preceded by a WH word and 'pa' (63), or WH and 'ma' (64) are ungrammatical.

(63) *Deomp da selaou [pa piv a gan ken brav]
 come (+imp) to listen who sing so well

(64) *Mont a reomp da selaou [ma petra a lavar an Aotrou maer]
go do (+pres+1P)to listen what say the Mr mayor

WH words have a wider distribution than 'pa' and 'ma'. A WH word is allowed in the initial position of an independent clause but neither 'pa' nor 'ma' can occur in such a position.

(65) *Piv o deus klevet e fest-noz?*

Who have+3P heard in fête-night

Who have they heard at the evening festival?

(66) *Petra oa evet gant an dornan?*

What was drunk with the threshing?

What was drunk at the threshing?

(67) **Ma o deus klevet e fest-noz*

If have+3P heard in fête-night

(68) **Pa vije evet gant an dornan*

When was drunk with the threshing

A WH word may occur in the final position of a clause, but 'pa' and 'ma' may not.

(69a) *Deuit da welout pehini!*

come(imp) to see which one

(69b) **Deuit da welout pa !*

(69c) **Deuit da welout ma !*

Finally some WH words 'piv', 'petra', 'pere' are also NPs. They can also serve as antecedents to pronouns, when the NP is fronted by a WH question,

(70a) *Ar c'hlaske-bar a vez roet bara dezhañ*

The tramp is(+hab) given bread to + 3SM

The tramp is given bread.

(70b) *Piv a vez roet bara dezhañ?*

Who is(+hab) given bread to + 3SM

Who is given bread?

'Pa' and 'ma' cannot replace NPs in interrogatives, nor do they control anaphoric pronouns. They are not WH words.

2.32 'Pa' and 'ma' as complementizers

A clause introduced by either one of these two morphemes can be preposed. It would appear then that they fulfil one condition for being complementizers. However, the clauses introduced by 'pa' or by 'ma' show properties which are not shared by direct complement clauses. In particular they have a wider distribution, and their presence in the clause is optional, a characteristic of adverbial modifiers.

With regards to extraction rules, 'pa' and 'ma' block extraction of a constituent from their clause in the same way as do NPs or prepositions. First we may examine the distributional properties of 'pa' and 'ma' clauses. They often appear inside the main clause, in complement positions, but they can also be fronted like a topic or even given greater emphasis with the emphatic marker 'evit'.

- (71) *Stad e vo ennan ma c'houne e barti c'hartoù*
 Happiness be(+fut+3S) in+3SM if win(+pres+3S) his game cards
 He will be happy if he wins his game of cards.

- (72) *Stad e vez ennan pa c'houne*
 Happiness be(+hab+pres) in+3SM when win (+pres+3S)
 He is happy when he wins.

i. Preposed position

- (73) *Ma c'houne e barti c'hartoù e vo stad ennañ*
 If win(+pres+3S) his game cards be(+fut) happiness in + 3SM
 He will be happy if he wins his game of cards.

- (74) *Pa c'houne e vez stad ennañ*
 When win(+pres+3S) be (+hab+pres) happiness in + 3SM
 He is happy when he wins.

ii. Emphatic constructions

- (75) *Evit pa ne vez ket a besked ne vezañ*
 As for when neg be (+hab+pres) neg of fish neg be (+hab+pres+1S)
ket e-sell da gaout
 neg expecting to have (Gros, 1970a, p.178)
 I do not expect to get any fish when there are none.

(76) *Evit ma ra glav n'aim ket er-maezh*

As for when do(es) rain neg go(+pres+1P) neg out (Gros, 1970)

When it rains we do not go out.

A direct complement clause cannot be placed in the front of whole S, whether the emphatic '*evit*' is used or not. This is rather interesting because it shows that it is not only the presence of the tensed verb in sentence initial position which prevents complement clauses from being preposed. The restriction is related to the syntactic nature of complement clauses rather than to the position of the verb. (77a) is grammatical, but (77b) and (77c) with a preposed complement clause are not.

(77a) *Gouzout a rez e vez tamallet tout d'ar beorien*

know do(+pres+2S) be(+hab+pres) blamed all to the poor

You know that the poor get blamed for everything.

(77b) **E vez tamallet tout d'ar beorien e ouiez*

be(+hab+pres) blamed all to+the poor know (+pres + 2S)

That the poor get blamed for everything you know.

(77c) **Evit e vez tamallet tout d'ar beorien e ouiez*

As for be(+hab+pres) blamed all to+the poor know(+pres+2S)

Pa and *ma* clauses are optional.

Verbs are subcategorized for a direct object complement whether the complement is a NP or a tensed clause.

- (78) *Lavaret he deus Anna gevier*
 said have(+perf+pres+3S) Anna lies

Anna has told lies.

- (79) *Lavaret he deus Anna e oa brav an amzer*
 said have(+perf+pres+3S) Anna be(+pst) nice the weather

Anna has said that the weather was nice.

Either (78) or (79) could also be modified by a complement clause containing a single adverb or a 'ma' or 'pa' clause, and like the adverbial modifier, it can precede the sentential complement.

- (80) *Lavaret he deus Anna hirik beure e oa*
 said have(+perf+pres+3S) Anna today morning be+past

brav an amzer
 nice the weather

Anna said this morning that the weather was nice.

- (81) *Lavare he deus Anna pa oa savet, e oa*
 said have(+perf+pres+eS) Anna when was got up be+past

brav an amzer
 nice the weather

Anna said, when she got up, that the weather was nice.

The most contrastive aspect in the comparison between clauses introduced by 'pa' and 'ma' and direct complement clauses, is found in their respective behaviour with regard to transformational rules.

In Breton, question formation and topicalization may involve extraction or deletion of a constituent irrespective of the degree of embedding.

(82a) *Kredin a ra dezho en deus lavaret*

believe do(+pres) to+3P have(+perf+pres+3S) said

ar marc'hadour e werzho Iffig e loened

the dealer sell(+fut) Iffig his livestock

They believe that the dealer has said that Iffig will sell his livestock

(82b) *{^{Petra}
E loened} a gred dezho en deus*

{^{What}
his livestock} believe to+3P have(+perf+pres+3S)

lavaret ar marc'hadour e werzo Iffig

said the dealer sell+fut Iffig

What do they believe that the dealer has told them that Iffig will sell?

They believe that the dealer has said that Iffig will sell his livestock.

WH question formation or topicalization cannot operate in embedded questions, complex NP constructions, PPs nor can it operate in 'pa' and 'ma' clauses.

iii. Embedded WH phrases

- (83a) *Gouzout a rez* [_S *piv en deus prenet an ti man*]]
 know do+pres+2S

You know who has bought this house

- (83b) **Petra a ouiez* [_S *piv en deus prenet*]]
 What know+pres+2S who have+3S bought

- (83c) **An ti man a ouiez* [_S [_S *piv en deus prenet*]]
 The house demonst know+ pres+2S [who has+3S bought]

iv. Complex NP constructions

- (84a) *Marvet eo* [_{NP} *ar paotr kozh* [_S *a diwezhae ma loened*]]
 Died is the man old looked after my animals
 NP

The old man who looked after my animals has died.

- (84b)* *Petra eo marvet* [_{NP} *ar paotr kozh* [_S *a dewezhae*]]
 What be(perf+pres) died | the man old | looked after... ||

- (84c) **Ma loened eo marvet* [*ar paotr kozh* [*a dewezhae ...*]]
 My animals be(perf+pres)died [the man old [looked after ..]]
NP S

v. Prepositional phrases

- (85a) *Ober a riñ ma sonj* [*diouzh* [*e lavaro ar vugale war'hoazh*]]
 Do do(+1S) my thinking [of [say+fut the children tomorrow]]
PP S

I shall make up my mind according to what the children say tomorrow.

- (85b) **Piv a riñ ma sonj* [*diouzh e lavaro* *war'hoazh*]
 Who do(+fut+1S) my thinking [of say(+fut) ... tomorrow]
PP

- (85c) **Ar vugale a riñ ma sonj* [*diouzh e lavaro ... war'hoazh*]
 The children do(+fut+1S) my thinking of say ... tomorrow
PP

vi. ma 'clause'

- (86a) *Prenañ a raio Yann ur wetur* [*ma ro Anna*]
 Buy do(+fut) Yann a car [if give(+fut) Anna]

an arc'hant dezhañ]
 the money to+3SM]

Yann will buy a car if Anna gives him the money.

(86b) *Petra a breno Yann ur wetur [ma ro Anna ... dezhan]
 buy(+fut) Yann a car [if give(+fut) Anna ... to him]

(86c) *An arc'hant a breno Yann ur wetur [ma ro Anna ... dezhan]
 The money buy(+fut) Yann a car [if give(+fut) Anna .. to+3SM]

vii. pa 'clause'

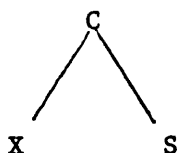
(87a) Mont a refomp d'ar gêr [pa en devo
 go do(+fut+1P) to+the home [when have (+fut+3S)
 echu Lomig e labour]
 finished Lomig his labour]

We shall go home when Lomig has finished his work.

(87b) *Piv a c'hefomp d'ar gêr [pa en devo
 Who go+fut+1P to+the home [when have (+fut+3S)
 echu e labour]
 finished his work]

(87c) *Lomig a c'hefomp d'ar ger [pa en deve
 Lomig go(+fut+1P) to+the home [when have (+fut+3S)
 echu ... e labour]
 finished his work]

Thus, clauses introduced by 'pa' and 'ma' behave like embedded clauses which are placed inside a NP or a PP. The structure of all these constructions has the form⁽⁹⁾:



'Pa' and 'ma' are not NPs and they are not WH words either. The only category they closely relate to is the prepositions. Like prepositions they introduce adverbial clauses.

Jackendoff (1977, p.79) decided that the subordinative conjuncts belong to the same category as the prepositions.

According to Jackendoff, this is the simplest way of describing the relationship between the English prepositions 'before' and 'after', and their homonyms which are regarded as subordinative conjuncts because they are followed by a complement clause. In Breton a number of connective morphemes can be followed by either a NP or a tensed clause. Denis (1977, p.877) listed some examples from the dialect of Douarnenez.

(88a) *e-bazh e tevio hennezh*⁽¹⁰⁾ (Denis, 1977, p.877)

by the time come+future that one

(9) This is an exocentric as opposed to an endocentric construction. Lyons (1977, p.392) defines the former by the formula $X.Y \equiv X$ and the latter by $X.Y \equiv Z$, where $Z \neq X$ and $Z \neq Y$.

(10) The transcription is the same as in Denis (1977). The spelling of individual words is not exactly the same spelling as that used in standard written Breton, but the principles of the general spelling convention in ZH are retained.

(88b) *e-bazh an ti*
in the house

(89a) *Aboe un toullad devezioù*
Since a few days

(89b) *Aboe eo deuet honnezh d'ar gêr* (Denis, 1977, p.877)
Since is come that one to the home
Since that one has come home.

Gros (1970) presents a number of examples illustrating the same property of the prepositions. The preposition 'war' (on) for instance may be followed by a NP (90), an infinitive VP (91) or a tensed clause (92).

(90) *An traou a zo war an daol* (Gros, 1970b, p.220)
The things be(+pres) on the table
The things are on the table

(91) *Hag a-bern neuze e oan war dond d'ar gêr*
And for then be(+past+pres) on come to+the home
And by that time I was coming home.

(92) *Bez' ez eo ur bolifreenn war a glevan*
Focus part be(+pres) = spiteful on hear+pres+1S
an dud o lavarout
the people prog say
I hear people say that she is spiteful.

Prepositions can take complement clauses and 'pa' and 'ma' may be classified as a subclass of prepositions. They need to be subcategorised as [-NP] and [-PP]. This prevents 'ma' and 'pa' from becoming inflected like the other prepositions, and also will prevent them from taking a PP complement.

'Pa' and 'ma' clauses can be in construction with a preposition. 'ma' is more frequent in literary Breton, but 'pa' is also found in the dialects and in literary Breton.

(93) *Ur bugel diouzh ma vez graet dezhañ a ra*

A child from be(+hab+pres) done to+3SM do + pres

A child behaves accordingly to what is done to him.

(94) *An traoù-se tout a so evel pa na vent bet biscoazh*

An traoù-se tout a zo evel pa ne vent bet biskoazh

The things-demonst. all as if they had never been

(Hemon, 1975, p.304)

All those things are as if they had never been.

There are many instances of double preposition constructions in Breton. Thus the combination preposition, followed by 'pa' or 'ma' are explained in a natural way.

There is sufficient evidence for analysing 'pa' and 'ma' as prepositions, and not as complementizers. Unlike 'whether' in English⁽¹¹⁾ they block extraction from their clause.

(11)(i) Which problems were you wondering whether you solved?

(ii) The problems that you are wondering whether you solved?
Bresnan (1976, p.365) explains that the difference is acceptability in English by suggesting that the subordinate conjunct has become a complementizer for those who accept (i) and (ii) as being grammatical.

2.4 Is There a Complementizer in Breton?

Embedding is not marked by the presence of a complementizer, such as English 'that' or French 'que' at the beginning of the embedded clause. Embedding is essentially marked by word order in a structure like (95) where the first constituent of the complement clause is the verb.

$$(95) \quad X \quad \underset{S}{\left[\begin{array}{cc} V & Y \end{array} \right]}$$

If there is no morpheme in the language which is categorized as a complementizer, should the syntactic category COMP be present in the PS rules?

COMP plays an essential part in transformational grammar. Bresnan (1970) argued that every sentence should be preceded by a COMP, and that such a category was part of the universal set of categories available to natural languages: N, V, NP, VP, S, etc. It is not necessarily the case that every natural language possesses all the syntactic categories.

In Chomsky's framework developed in 1973 and 1977 (Extended Standard Theory) the COMP becomes a crucial component of the grammar. The COMP is used as an escape hatch, which allows constituents of a WH form to be moved by an iterative cyclic movement from COMP to COMP, from an embedded position to the front of the whole S.

$$(96) \quad \left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{COMP} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \uparrow \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{COMP} \\ \uparrow \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \uparrow \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{COMP} \\ \uparrow \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \dots \end{array} \right] & \dots \end{array} \right]$$

The moved WH phrase deletes freely in COMP.

Emonds (1976) analyzed all the root transformations moving a constituent over a variable, to the most left position as COMP substitution rules.

However it would seem incorrect to maintain a COMP in the grammar, if no morpheme can be seen to ever fill that category node. Bresnan (1976, p.163) considered such a possibility where a language would not exhibit an overt complementizer. She concluded that it would be undesirable for such a language to have 'invisible COMP nodes'.

I would like to clarify the issue as to whether the Breton grammar includes complementizers and COMP nodes. So far no morpheme has been confirmed as a complementizer. The verbal particle 'a' and 'e' and the negative 'ne' are not complementizers. The subordinative conjuncts 'pa' and 'ma' have been included in the same category as prepositions.

The problem is of some interest because Breton is now under the strong influence of French, a language which uses complementizing morphemes such as 'que' and 'qui'. So far we have maintained that complementation in Breton is indicated by the word order inside the complement clause, it is invariably VSO, whereas the root affirmative has the tensed verb in second position. The direct complement clause is always placed to the right of the matrix verb or the head noun.

Nonetheless, there is a morpheme 'ma' which may eventually act as a complementizer. It is the 'ma' which appears in some relative constructions.

Kervella (1976, p.420) gives examples of relative clauses in which the head NP indicates location and possession.

- (97) *Ar vro ma savas e di enni* (Kervella, 1976, p.420)

The country build(+past+3S) his house in+3SF

The country in which he built his house.

- (98) *Da mare ma lavarã* (Kervella, 1976, p.420)

At moment say (+1S)

At the moment that I am talking.

- (99) *Al labous ma freuzhas Perig e neizh*

The bird destroyed Perig his nest

The bird whose nest Perig destroyed.

'Ma' can now be dispensed with and Kervella gave examples which contained 'e' instead of 'ma'.

- (100) *Ar vro e savas e di enni* (Kervella, 1976, p.421)

The country build+past his home in+3SF

- (101) *An darvoud a gonzomp diwar e benn*

the event speak(+past+IND)about its subject

The event we are talking about.

Hemon (1975, p.138) explained that 'ma' was initially a locative particle, which has gradually lost its semantic value. This may explain why it may be used with any type of relativized oblique NP, although the

particle 'e' is also frequent. This is a matter of dialectal variation.

King (1980) has also reported that 'ma' is used in relative clauses where the head has originated in an oblique phrase. She gave an example from Hardie (1947) in which 'ma' is said to disambiguate between two possible interpretations.

(102) *Ar verc'h a roas ar rozenn dezhi*

The girl give(+past+3) the rose to (+3SF)

(a) The girl who gave the rose to her.

(b) The girl to whom she/he gave the rose.

When 'ma' is substituted for 'a' there is only one possible interpretation, the second.

(103) *Ar verc'h ma roas ar rozenn dezhi.*

Although this seems rather elegant and might be found in the literature, I think that speakers use more effective devices to disambiguate between different interpretations. One is passivization, mentioned in Leclerc (1911, p.141). The other is to keep a subject pronoun to the ^{right} ~~left~~ of the verb, which indicates that the relativized NP is not the subject.

(104) *Ar verc'h a roas hi ar rozenn dezhi*
 ~~en~~
The girl give+past she the rose to+3SF
 he

The girl to whom she/he gave the rose.

Should 'ma' act as a complementizer in the relative clause we might then expect that extraposition could be allowed in the same way as in English or in French.

(105) A man came in who was smiling.

(106) *Vous n'avez pas une tête de poisson pour mon chien qui*

You neg have+2P neg a head of fish for my dog who

traîne par là

lies about. (11)

Would you have a fish head lying about for my dog?

In the two examples, the relative clause has been extraposed and removed from the position immediately to the right of the head noun. A similar construction is ungrammatical in Breton even when the embedded clause is preceded by 'ma'

(107) *Ar plac'h ma oa roet ar rozenn dezhi a oa gwisket e gwenn*

The girl be give the rose to+3SF be+past dressed in white

The girl to whom he/she gave the rose was dressed in white.

(11) Heard in Lannuon, September 1981.

(108) *Ar *plac'h a oa gwisket e wenn ma roas*

The girl be+past dressed in white give+past+3S

ar rozenn dezhi

the rose to+3SF

The girl was dressed in white whom he/she gave the rose.

Denis (1977, p.882) has attributed the presence of 'ma' in some relative constructions, to the influence of French. Whatever influence has caused it to become used in relative clauses, this 'ma' has not yet established itself as a complementizer. It does not play a significant part in the grammatical system, and it has the same distribution as the morpheme 'e' which is not a complementizer.

At the present stage the Breton language does not rely on complementizer to mark complementation. Thus it seems that a COMP node would be superfluous. There is a further consequence which results from the absence of a complementizing morpheme. Embedded clauses may be recognized from matrix clauses by the internal order of their constituents; the tensed verb is placed in the initial position. In the affirmative matrix clause the tensed verb is in second position as will be shown in the next chapter. Matrix verbs and embedded clauses are also ordered with respect to each other, with the matrix verb always placed before the embedded verb in the string.

2.5 The Negative Particle

Negation in Breton, as in French, is marked by two morphemes 'ne ... ket' placed on either side of the tensed verb.

- (109) *Ne gav ket e votoù koad*
neg find+pres+3S neg his shoes wood

He does not find his clogs.

The first particle can be realised as 'na' or 'ne'. Both induce the same lenition mutation. Over the years 'ne' has become the preferred form according to Hemon (1975, p. 284). The phonetical realisation is [nə] without stress. Before vowels it is reduced to [n]. It also deletes freely, like the verbal particles. The mutation is retained, indicating the underlying presence of 'ne'. The initial voiceless plosive 'k' in 'kemer' (to take) changes to its voiced counterpart after 'ne'. In (111) 'ne' has been deleted although (110) and (111) are identical in meaning.

- (110) *Ne gemero ket ar c'hazh bihan*
Neg take(+fut+3S) neg the cat little

She will not take the kitten.

- (111) *Gemero ket ar c'hazh bihan*
Take(+fut+3S) neg the cat little

She will not take the kitten.

This type of negation is used with finite verbs only. Non-finite verbs are negated by a preposition 'hep' (without) as in English or in the French 'sans'.

- (112) *Mont a ra d'ar ger hep debriñ e goan*
 Go does+3S to+the home without eat|-fin| his supper

He/she goes home without eating his supper.

In modern spoken Breton, 'nompas' - very similar to French 'ne pas' - is used before infinitives.

- (113) *Lavaret zo dezhañ nompas treuziñ*
 said is to+him not cross

He has been told not to cross.

The negative 'ne' is mutually exclusive with the verbal particles 'a' and 'e', which as clitics to the finite verb cannot occur in the first position in the sentence (Section 3.2b in this chapter), but 'neg' nevertheless can fill that position.

From examples containing 'a' or 'e' (2.210) we know that clitics to tensed verbs are also barred from the initial position. That the reflexive 'en em' and the object pronoun are clitics is also proved by the fact that they may be preposed with the infinitive or the past participle to which they are attached.

'Ne' behaves differently. Apart from standing in that initial position in S, it never moves with the main verb, when the infinitive or the past participle is fronted.

(114a) *ne weler ket ar c'hi dour alies*
neg see(+pres+indef)neg the otter often

We do not see the otter often.

(114b) **ne gwelout reer ket ar c'hi dour*
neg see (+INF) do+pres+ind neg the otter

**ne weler en deus ket ar c'hi dour*
neg seen has+3S neg the otter

The negative particle is not a clitic to the verb. It could still be analysed as a clitic to S dominated by COMP. This is the analysis proposed by Zwicky (1977) for the Welsh particles 'y(r)', 'a' and 'nid', respectively the affirmative, interrogative and negative sentence initial particles. Emonds (1979) stated that in Breton 'ne' should count as a filled COMP.

There is little evidence, however, that 'ne' may be a complementizer of any sort. Like the verbal particles, it cannot be a sufficient condition for complementation, whether we consider clauses complement to a verb or to a noun. In the first case, the complement clause cannot be preposed, and in the second case, inverting the clauses changes the meaning of the relative clauses.

(115a) $\left[\begin{array}{l} N'en \text{ deus } ket \text{ gouezet } \left[\begin{array}{l} ne \text{ oant } ket \text{ deuet } \\ Neg \text{ has}+3S \text{ neg } \text{ known } \quad neg \text{ be}+past+3P \text{ neg } \text{ come} \end{array} \right] \\ d'ar \text{ g\`er } en \text{ koulz } \end{array} \right]$
to+the home in time

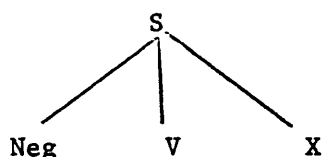
(115b)* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} Ne \text{ oant } ket \text{ deuet } d'ar \text{ ger } en \text{ koulz } \\ Neg \text{ be}+past \text{ neg } \text{ come } \text{ to the home in time} \end{array} \right] \\ n'en \text{ deus } ket \text{ gouezet } \end{array} \right]$
neg has(+pres+3S) neg known
He did not know that they had not come home in time.

(116a) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} En \text{ ti-se } \left[\begin{array}{l} pezh \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} ne \text{ vez } ket \text{ mat } d'an \text{ dud } \\ \text{5t} \end{array} \right] \\ In+the \text{ house}(+demonstr) \text{ thing } neg \text{ be}(+hab) \text{ neg } \text{ good to the people} \end{array} \right] \\ ne \text{ vez } ket \text{ mat } d'ar \text{ chas } \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
neg be(+hab)neg good to the dogs⁵¹
In that house, what is not good for the people is not good for the dogs.

(116b) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} En \text{ ti-se } \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} pezh \\ NP \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} ne \text{ vez } ket \text{ mat } d'ar \\ \text{52} \end{array} \right] \\ In+the \text{ house}+demonst \quad neg \text{ be}+pres+hab \text{ neg } \text{ good to the} \end{array} \right] \\ chas \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
dogs neg be+pres+hab neg good to+the people⁵¹
In that house what is not good for the dogs is not good for the people.

The third possibility is for 'neg' to be placed on a node immediately dominated by S on the left of the verb giving the configuration below. This is the one that will be adopted here.

(117)



2.6 The Pronominal System of Breton

2.60 Three different types of pronoun are found in modern literary Breton: a strong form, a clitic form, which is used less and less⁽¹²⁾ except in the dialect of Bro-Wened, and a new form which is not a clitic, but has nonetheless a more restricted distribution than the strong one. The pronominal system also includes inflections of verbs and prepositions.

The pronouns, the inflections on verbs, and the two types of inflected preposition are shown in tables V and VI. The tables are only a representation of the inflections as they are found in modern Breton, without attempting to explain the variations between verbs and prepositions on the one hand and between different prepositions on the other. Hemon (1975) has made a detailed historical study of person inflections in Breton.

(12) Not used at all in the dialect of Bro Dreger.

Table 2.2

The pronominal forms

person	strong form	clitic	new form
1S	me	am ~ ma	ac'hanon
2S	te	az ~ da	ac'hanout
3SM	en	e	anezhan
3SF	hi	he	anezhi
1P	ni	hon ~ hor ~ hol	ac'hanomp
2P	c'hwi	ho ~ hoc'h	ac'anout
3P	int	o	anezho

Table 2.3

Pronominal inflections

person	verb: present tense	Prepositions	
	lenn (to read)	da (to)	war (on)
1S	lennan	din	warnon
2S	lennes	dit	warnout
3SM	lenn	dezhan	warnezhan
3SF	lenn	dezhi	warnezhi
1P	lennomp	dimp	warnomp
2P	lennit	deoc'h	warnoc'h
3P	lennont	dint/dezho	warenzho
Indef.	lenner		

The verbal inflection system contains a suffix 'r' which has no corresponding form in the prepositional system, nor in the pronoun system. It stands for an indefinite subject somewhat similar in meaning to the French 'on'. It has the feature [+ human].

The inflected forms of verbs and prepositions are directly linked to the presence of a pronoun instead of a full NP on their right. There is no agreement in the (a) examples which contain a full NP, but agreement shows up when the pronoun is present. The pronoun may be deleted or retained according to whether the speaker wishes to express emphasis or contrast.

(118a) *Bremañ e tap ar baotred muioc'h a siliou*

Now catch the men more of eels

The men catch more eels now.

(118b) *Bremañ e tapont int muioc'h a siliou*

Now catch+3P they more of eels

They catch more eels now.

(118c) *Bremañ e tapont muioc'h a siliou*

as (b).

(119a) *Un devezour a vez gant Per a-wechoù*

A labourer be(+hab+pres) with Per sometimes

Per sometimes has a labourer.

(119b) *Un devezour a vez ganiñ me a-wechoù*

A labourer be(+hab+pres) with+1S I sometimes

I sometimes have a labourer.

(119c) *Un devezour a vez ganiñ a-wechoù*

as (b).

The strong pronominal is not found with third person prepositions. This is a phonetic matter rather than one of syntactic origin. One of the main roles of the third person pronoun is to disambiguate a sentence in which the verb has a zero inflection (see table VI). 'Lenn' (read) may be interpreted as "he reads" or "she reads", but when the pronoun is retained, only one interpretation will be available.

(120a) *Bremañ e lenn*

Now read she/he

(120b) *Bremañ e lenn hi*

Now read she

Bremañ e lenn en

Now read he

Third person prepositions take an inflection whose phonological realisation is very close to that of the pronoun. This particular aspect of third person pronouns has a direct bearing on one theoretical issue associated with topicalization and it will be discussed in chapter 7, section 324

(121a) *dezhañ eñ*

[*dezã*] [*ε*]

To him he

(121b) *dezhi hi*

[*dejĩ*] [*hi*]

to her she

(121c) *dint int*

[*di*] [*i*]

To them they

Strong pronouns also occur with possessive noun phrases pronoun + noun and with complex prepositional phrases.

(122a) possessive NPs

e vamm eñ

his mother he

he marm hi

her mother she

(122b) prepositional phrases *war e lerc'h eñ*

on his trail he

after him

war he lerc'h hi

on her trail she

after her

Strong pronouns are generated in the base for all persons, with verbs, possessive NPs and idiomatic prepositional phrases, as well as the ordinary prepositional phrases. A later phonological rule deletes the pronoun in specific environments. This way we ensure there is no exception in the syntactic rules and thus facilitate greater generalisation.

2.61 The strong form

One of the characteristics of the strong form is that it is the only pronominal form which has the same distribution as a full NP. It may occur in left dislocated structures as well as in topic position.

Topic position

(subject)

(123a) *Int o devoa pae-et tout ar banac'hoù*

They had+3P paid all the drinks (Gros, , p.128)

They had paid for all the drinks.

(object)

(123b) *Hi a gavan e kêr alies*

she find+1S in town often

I often meet her in town.

(oblique NP)

(123c) *En 'zo manet foenn gantañ dindañ an amzer*

He is stayed hay with+3S under the weather

Some of his hay is still out.

Cleft constructions

(subject)

(124a) *Int eo a vo da gentañ*

They be+fut at first

It is they who want to be first.

(object)

(124b) *Eñ eo a gavi er gêr*

He is find(+fut+2S) at+the home

It is he you will find at home.

(oblique)

(124c) *Int eo emañ an douar gañto*

They is be(+locative) the and with+3P

It is they who rent the land.

Left dislocation

(125) *Int, aet e oant d'ar gêr abred*

They gone had+3P to the home early

They had gone home early.

It is the strong form of the pronoun which is used in answering questions.

(126) *Piv a zo deuet? int, eñ, hi*

Who be(+perf+pres) come? they he she

Who has come?

The strong pronoun has the same distribution as the full NP.

Below a few examples are repeated with an NP instead of a pronoun.

(127a) *A baotred o devoa paeet tout ar banac'hou*

The men had paid all the drinks

The men had paid for all the drinks

(127b) *An tad kozh eo a gavi er gêr*

The grand father is find(+fut+2S) at+the home

It is the grandfather who you will find at home.

(127c) *Ar vugale, aet e oant d'ar gêr a-bred*

The children gone had+3P to the home early

The children had gone home early.

Therefore the strong pronoun should be dominated by an NP node.

2.62 The clitic form

This form is used exclusively as a direct object pronoun. It is mutually exclusive with the object NP and the reflexive and reciprocal 'en em', respectively, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the (b) sentences.

(128a) *Breman e wel Yann ar plac'h e toull an nor*

Now see Yann the woman in hole the door

Now Yann sees the woman in the doorway.

(128b)* *Breman he gwell Yann ar plac'h e toull an nor*

Now her see Yann the woman in hole the door

(129a) *E-kerz ar votadeg e oant en em gannet evel kigi*

During the election had+3P reciprocal fight(past part) like
cockerels (Gros, 1974, p.183)

They fought one another like cockerels during the elections

(129b) **E-kerz ar votadeg e oant oc'h en em gannet evel kigi*

This particular pronominal is a clitic to the verb. Whenever the main verb is fronted, as an infinitive or past participle, the object pronoun remains on its left.

(130) *O gwelout a ran*

them see(inf) do+1S

I see them.

(131) *O gwelet am eus*

them seen have+1S

I have seen them.

As a weak form it cannot be separated from its supportive constituent by a free morpheme such as an adverb.

(132a) *Biken n'o gweli*

Never neg them see (+fut+2S)

You will never see them.

(132b) **N'o biken gweli.*

This clitic form has become obsolete in most of the dialects, with the exception of Bro-Wened. In modern literary Breton both forms are still used, quite often by the same writer. For a more detailed description, the reader is referred to Urien and Denez (1977-78, pp. 278-286). In Bro-Dreger, Bro-Leon and Bro-Kerne, the new form has replaced the clitic pronoun.

2.63 The new form

This third form is relatively recent to the Breton system. It is homonymous with the inflected preposition 'a', but it has acquired a status of its own. In this work it will be referred to as the 'a' form. Hemon (1975) has noted that this pronominal form was still rare at the beginning of the Early Modern Period (middle of the 17th century). It has gradually replaced the clitic pronoun and by the middle of the last century the new form had superseded the older one. As well as being used as an object pronoun with transitive verbs, it is also used as a copy or reinforcer to the subject with transitive verbs particularly in negative constructions and also in affirmatives, in all dialects with the exception of Bro-Wened, which has retained the object clitic pronoun. The 'a' form is now also commonly used to reinforce subjects in affirmative sentences in the dialect of Douarnenez (Denis, 1977).

2.631 The 'a' form as direct object pronoun

It fills the same position as the full NP object, on the right of the verb.

(133a) *Da gentañ am oa karnet al linseliou*

First had+1S washed the sheets

I washed the sheets first.

(133b) *Da gentañ am oa karnet anezho*

First had+1S washed them

I washed them first.

The 'a' form is excluded from a sentence which contains a clitic object pronoun or the reflexive.

(134a)* *Ar c'hazh e laeras anezhañ*

The cat Pro(3+SM) stole Pro(3SM)

(134b)* *Maria en em gollas anezhi e Paris*

Maria reflexive lost pro 3SF in Paris

The 'a' form is not a clitic to the verb, as a subject NP intervenes between them. Unlike the clitic it cannot be dominated by V. It has to be placed under a NP node.

However, it is not a strong form in the same sense as the first pronoun. It cannot appear outside the sentence, in topic position for instance, nor can it be used in answers.

(135)* *Anezho a gavas Lenaig war an aod*

Them find(past) Lenaig on the beach

- (136) *Piv oa deuet? *anezhāñ*
 Who be(+perf+past) come en him
 Who has come?

It does not occur in prepositional phrases either.

*din me *din anezhāñ*
 to+1S I

Although the 'a' form stands apart from the verb, it is not a strong pronoun like the other independent pronouns. It has a restricted distribution.

2.632 The 'a' form as a copy of the subject

An intriguing aspect of the 'a' form is that it is used not only as a copy or reinforcer to the subject in negatives, mainly with 'bezañ', but also with intransitive verbs. This is attested for in all dialects with the exception of Bro-Wened. No analysis of this aspect of pronominal distribution will be attempted here. The examples below are simply an illustration of this.

i. With 'bezan' (to be) in negatives

- (137) *An ti ne oa ket echu mat anezhāñ* (Kervella, 1976, p.254)
 The house neg was neg finished well it
 The house was not quite finished.

(138) *n'int ket bras anezho* (Denis, 1977)

neg be+3P neg big them

They are not big.

ii. With 'bezāñ' in affirmatives

(139) *E mod all eo re galet anezhi* (Denis, 1977)

In mood other is too hard her

He is too hard in the other way.

(140) *Un den kaer e oa anezhāñ*

A man handsome was him

He was a handsome man (Koulmig ar Gindi, 1980, no. 25)

iii. With negative intransitive

(141) *Ne gousko ket anezhi* (Denis, 1977)

Neg sleep+fut+3S neg her

She will not sleep.

(142) *Ne c'hoarzh ket morse anezhi* (Denis, 1977)

Neg laugh neg never her

She never laughs.

iv. With affirmative intransitive

(143) *Ha ma varv anezhi* (Denis, 1977)

And if die her

And if she dies.

v. With negative transitive

(144) *Ha ne zimez ket, ne gav gour anezhi* (Denis, 1977)

And neg marry neg, neg find no one her

And she does not get married, she finds no one.

(145) *Ne zebro tamm anezhañ*

Neg eat(+fut) nothing him

He will eat nothing

The distribution of the 'a' form as a subject reinforcer can be summarised as follows. It occurs with transitive and intransitive verbs in negative constructions. In affirmative constructions it is restricted to transitive verbs.

The 'a' form is not restricted to the object NP. It is also used as a substitute or copy for the subject NP. This weakens the argument that subject and object NPs may be distinguished in Breton by the 'a' marker (Anderson and Chung, 1977).

The 'a' form has become a full pronoun. It is clearly distinct from its homonymous preposition a+inflection. The latter can be replaced by another preposition but not the former.

(146) *Te vat a zo oc'h ober goap ac'hanon* (Gros, 1970a, p. 181)

diouzhin

You surely is progres. do fun of me

Surely you are making fun of me

(147) *Piv en deus lazhet anezhañ*

**dioutañ*

Who has killed him

* of him

2.7 The perfective 'eus' (have)

Breton is the only Celtic language to have developed a perfective auxiliary. In Cornish, which is the Celtic language closest to Breton, the perfective aspect is marked by a preverbal particle 're' (Pool, 1970, p.14).

(148) *my re welas an tañ* (Pool, 1979, p.14)

I perf. see+past the fire

I have seen the fire.

Perfective in Welsh is marked by the preposition 'wedi' (after).

(149) *Mae Tom wedi darllen y llyfr*

is Tom after read the book

Tom has read the book.

In Breton we have

(150) *Lennet en deus Tom al levr*

Read (past part) has Tom the book

Tom has read the book.

The perfective auxiliary consists of the verbal stem "*eus*" and a person inflection. The full paradigm for the present is given in table . Any Breton book will include all the tenses for "*eus*".

Table 2.4
Representations of 'eus'

<u>Traditional Spelling</u>		<u>Phonetic Representation</u>	<u>Modern Spelling</u>
1S	am eus	[mœ s]	meus
2S	az peus	[toe s]	teus
3SM	en deus	[noe s]	neus
3SF	he deus	[doe s]	deus
1P	hon eus	[noe s]	neus
2P	ho peus	[poes]	peus
3P	o deus	[doe s]	deus

All verbs show agreement with the subject pronoun by suffixation (see table VI, section 6.1) with the exception of '*eus*'; prefixing is unique to this particular one.

Hemon (1975, p.212) describes the perfective have as follows:

"This verb consists of the dependent forms of the personal pronouns (clitic form) and the verb 'to be'. Each tense is based on the third person singular of 'to be'."

There is no doubt that the perfective aspect in Breton is marked by an auxiliary verb as in French or in English, but is it another form of 'bezañ' (to be) or should it be regarded as a verb on its own?

When the verbs are tensed, there is no confusion between 'bezañ' (to be) and the aspectual 'eus' (have) since they show separate subject/verb agreement rules.

Table 2.5
Comparison between 'bezañ' and 'eus'

bezañ (to be)			eus (have)		
present		past	present		past
1S	on	oan	1S	am eus	am oa
2S	out	oas	2S	az peus	az poa
3SM	eo/zo	oa	3SM	en deus	en doa
3SF	eo/zo	oa	3SF	he deus	he doa
1P	omp	oamp	1P	hon eus	hon oa
2P	oc'h	oac'h	2P	ho peus	ho poa
3P	int	oant	3P	o deus	o doa

However 'eus' has no distinctive non finite form of its own. The infinitive 'bezañ' is used in a non finite complement clause when perfective is expressed. Example (151) is an independent clause and 'eus' is present but in (152) the perfective verb is embedded and 'bezañ' shows up instead.

(151) *War an taol en deus lazhet ar c'hi*

On the moment has(+3SM) killed the dog

He has killed the dog outright.

(152) *Ret eo dezhañ bezañ garv da vezañ lazhet ar c'hi*

Must be to+3SM be harsh to be killed the dog

war an taol

on the moment

He must be harsh to have killed the dog outright.

Possessive 'have' which is also realized as 'eus' appears under another infinitive form in non finite contexts. The following examples are taken from Hemon (1975). The first line is given in the original spelling quoted by Hemon, the second is the translation into the spelling used throughout this work.

(153) *Ret eo deoch caffet patiantet*

Raet eo deoc'h kaout patiantet

Must is to+2P have patience

You must be patient.

(154) *Gwelloc'h beza fur evit kaout madoù bras*

Gwelloc'h bezañ fur evit kaout madoù bras

Better be wise than have goods big

It is better to be wise than to have large possessions.

The next example comes from Kervella (1976, p.26).

(155) *Un den a c'hell kaout dek re votou*

A man may have ten pairs shoes

Anyone can possess
have ten pairs of shoes.

Urien and Denez (1977, 1978, p.272) explained that none of the infinitival forms assigned to Breton have 'bezañ', 'kaout' or 'endevout' are genuine infinitival forms of that verb. They are borrowed from other verbs, 'bezañ' for the aspectual auxiliary and 'kaout' from 'kavout' meaning also to find, for the possessive have. It appears that Breton 'have' has not yet developed its own infinitival form. This is also true for the past participle. 'Bet' the past participle of 'bezañ' is then used.

(156) *Ur garg koad en deus bet*

A trailer wood has(+3SM) had

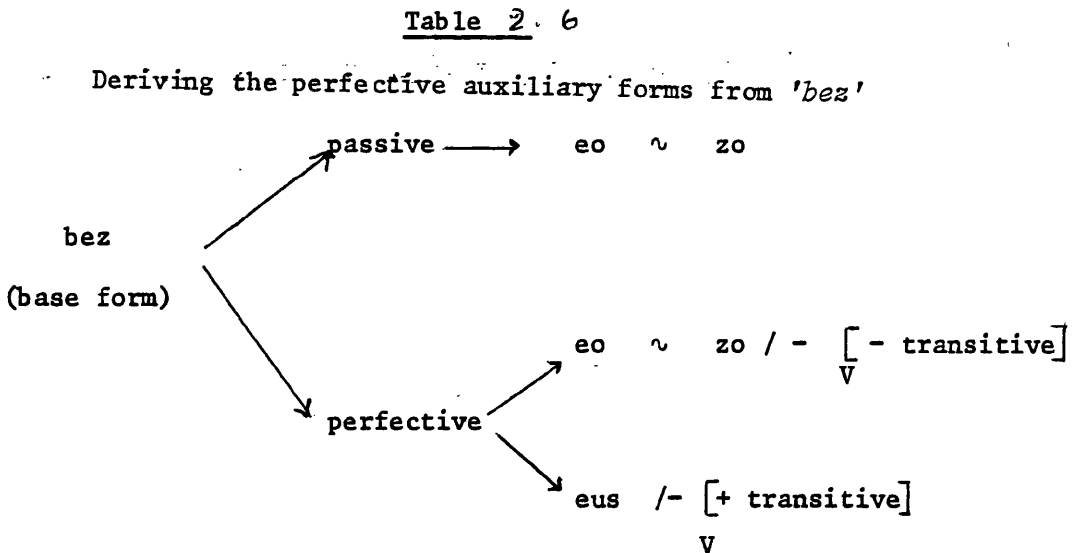
He has had a trailer load of wood.

For Kervella (1976) the possessive have, realised as 'kaout', 'bout' or 'endevout' is no more than another of 'bezañ'. This can only be a diachronic explanation, as 'eus' in spite of lacking an infinitive and a past participle has established itself in the grammatical system of Breton, by adopting a different inflection system.

The integration of 'eus' into the general verb pattern of Breton is more advanced in the dialects than in the literary language. Denis (1977) noted that in some dialects /nø/s/ has become the base form. In the Breton of Donarnenez, the verbal particle 'a' now precedes

the verb 'eus', like the other verbs, but stopping short of regularising 'eus' to "neus" for all persons. Speakers of the dialect of Tregor also use the verbal particle before 'eus', but still marking the person distinction by the first segment, while already using a plural form for first and third person plural (*hon eus* → *mom* and *o deus* → *dont*).

If perfective 'eus' was simply a variant form of 'bezañ', the different realisations of 'bezañ' could follow the pattern in table IX.



The two forms corresponding to perfective occur with intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively.

(157a) *Kousket eo*

Asleep be+3S

He/she is asleep.

(157b) *Debret o deus*

Eaten have+3P

They have eaten.

If this is the correct analysis for the perfective in Breton, the selection of one form or the other is determined by the main verb, in which case the perfective verb should be best described as an auxiliary. This is the analysis defended by Emonds (1978) for auxiliary verbs.

Nonetheless, such an analysis is not as straightforward as it would seem. The main problems are linked with the form of the subject/verb agreement rule.

(i) One item, namely the verb *'bezan'* (to be) would be subject to two different agreement rules: prefixing when realised as *'eus'* for the perfective aspect, and suffixing when realised as the passive auxiliary and the perfective *'bezan'* (see Table 2.4 for the inflection and Table 2.5 for the tensed form).

More so, the perfective auxiliary would be subject to the two rules depending on the feature of the main verb [\pm transitive].

(ii) The main verb will be selecting not only ^{the} type of auxiliary, but the type of agreement rule.

(iii) Certain verbs can take either form of perfective *'bezan'* or *'eus'* with a different meaning.

(158a) *Kousket he deus Anna*

Slept has(+3SF) Anna

Anna has slept.

(158b) *Kousket eo Anna*

Slept is Anna

Anna is asleep.

The variation in meaning between (140a) and (140b) is due to the presence of the auxiliary. Thus, auxiliaries contribute to the meaning of the sentence, contrary to Emonds' claim that auxiliaries are grammatical formatives only.

The particular morphological form of the subject/verb agreement rule for '*eus*' is a distinctive feature of that morpheme. It is an exception to the whole verbal agreement rule and should be specified in the lexicon as a feature or property of that item. '*Eus*' also makes a contribution to the semantic interpretation of the sentence and this semantic content has to be listed in the lexicon.

Therefore '*eus*' has distinctive characteristics, which contribute to its lexical status, in spite of showing a defective paradigm lacking both an infinitive and a past participle form.

2.8 Summary

In this chapter I have presented and discussed some aspects of Breton grammar and certain conclusions have been drawn. One concerns the verbal particles 'a' and 'e'. Their role appears to be minimal in the language, and they cannot be analyzed as complementizers. In that respect, Breton differs from the other Celtic languages in which the verbal particles are complementizers. No other morpheme in the language can justifiably be categorized as a complementizer, and it seems at this point at least that a COMP node is superfluous in Breton. The two subordinative conjuncts 'ma' and 'pa' which might have been possible complementizers are in fact very close to prepositions, and have been classified as such. The negative particle must be distinguished from the verbal particles 'a' and 'e'. It is an independent constituent and not a clitic. It attaches itself to the S node.

The pronominal system has been outlined. Breton is distinguishable from its sister languages by showing a new pronominal form which has replaced the object pronominal clitic on the verb. This new form has gradually acquired greater autonomy and it is also used as a reinforcer to the subject.

This use of the pronominal form as inflection undermines Anderson & Chung's (1977) postulate that this 'a' is used to distinguish the object NP from the subject NP, in topicalized structure.

Another innovation of Breton has been the development of a perfective auxiliary 'eus' from one of the base forms of *bezan*. In spite of showing a defective paradigm, this 'eus' should be analysed as an independent form and gives lexical entry.

These grammatical points will be referred to in the course of the work.

CHAPTER III

NEUTRAL AND TOPICALIZED STRUCTURES

3.0 Presentation

In this chapter I shall attempt to define the neutral structure in Breton. The existence of a neutral structure is not clearly evident from the surface order of the constituents of main and independent clauses. In complement clauses the tensed verb is always placed in the first position, but in root sentences, the tensed element cannot occur in sentence initial position. Any constituent can fill the first position in the string as can be judged from sentences (1) to (7).

Examples (1) to (5) may be translated: Anna reads the book in the lounge.

Example (6) contains the perfective auxiliary 'eus'.

(1) *Anna a lenn al levr er sal*

Anna read the book in+the lounge

(2) *Al levr a lenn Anna er sal*

The book read Anna in the lounge

(3) *Er sal e lenn Anna al levr*

In+the lounge read Anna the book

(4) *Lenn al levr a ra Anna er sal*

Read the book does Anna in+the lounge

(5) *Lenn a ra Anna al levr er sal*

Read does Anna the book in+the lounge

(6) *Lennet he deus Anna al levr er sal*

Read has Anna the book in+the lounge

(7) *Ne lern ket Anna al levr er sal*

Neg read neg Anna the book in+the lounge

Anna does not read the book in the lounge.

There seems to be little agreement as to which word order represents the neutral structure in independent and root sentences.

Various authors have stressed the flexibility of the Breton language as well as the fact that the most important word or constituent can be given prominence by setting it in sentence initial position (Vallée, 1931; Trépos, 1968; Gros, 1974).

Leroux (1957) wrote that the construction with the fronted infinitive (example (5)) is no longer emphatic. "...elle a perdu beaucoup de sa valeur emphatique" (p.466). According to him, this construction is used mainly when the subject is not a full NP, or when no other constituent comes before the tensed verb.

Gros (1974, p.70) remarked that in the actual use of the language, in some cases, sentences with the subject in initial position (example (1)) are felt to convey no particular emphasis on that constituent.

Urien (1978, p.47) stressed that there was no neutral sentence in Breton, the infinitive in (5) is considered to be as emphatic as in any topicalized structure.

My argument is that there exists a neutral structure for independent and root clauses. It is not the tensed verb initial structure that

surfaces in complement clauses. The surface neutral structure of independent clauses is represented by (5) and (6) which have the constituent order main verb-auxiliary. (7) is a non-topicalized negative sentence and all the others (1) to (4) are topicalized structures.

The argument in defence of a contrast between topicalized (1, 2, 3 and 4) and non-topicalized, and therefore neutral, sentences (5 and 6) is based on the fact that each type of structure is derived via distinctive syntactic rules. Each one also involves a different type of 'ober'. The 'ober' which occurs in VP topicalized constructions (example (4)) is not the same element as that which is found in (6) where the infinitive alone is placed to the left of the tensed 'ober'.

The first part consists of a presentation of three verbs 'ober' (do) in the language: main verb 'ober', anaphoric 'ober', and auxiliary 'ober'.

Secondly, I shall discuss the syntactic rules required to derive the structures A and B, in matrix clauses.

(A) neutral: [Verb Aux X]
 S[-Finite]

(B) topicalized [TOPIC] [v X]
 S [+Finite]

3.1 Three different 'ober'

3.11 Main verb 'ober'

This verb is very close in meaning to activity 'do' in English or to the French 'faire'. Like French 'faire' it can be also used in causative constructions such as (8), corresponding to the French (9).

(8) *Yann en deus graet sevel un ti*

Yann have(+perf+pres)made build a house

Yann had a house built.

(9) Yann a fait bâtir une maison.

As a main verb 'ober' occurs in all verbal forms, marked for tense (10), voice (11), aspect (12) and person (14) and in the same positions: verb initially in embedded clauses (13) and negatives (14), as well as in the non-finite verb slot in root clauses (15, 16) and in the topicalized VP (17).

(10) *Ar vasonerien a ra ar mogerioù*

The masons do(+pres)the walls

The masons build the walls.

(11) *Gant ar vasonerien eo graet ar mogerioù*

By the masons be(+pass) made the walls

The walls are built by the masons.

(12) *Ar vasonerien o deus graet ar mogerioù*

The masons have(+perf)done the walls

The masons have built the walls.

(13) *gwelet az pa a rae ar vasonerien ar mogerioù*

seen had+2S did the masons the walls

Had you seen that the masons were building the walls.

(14) *Ar vasonerien ne reout ket ar mogerioù*

The masons neg do+3P neg the walls

The masons do not build the walls.

(15) *Ober a ra ar vasonerien ar mogerioù*

Do do+pres the masons the walls

The masons build the walls.

(16) *Graet o deus ar vasonerien ar mogerioù*

Done have(perf) the masons the walls

The masons have built the walls.

(17) *Ober ar mogerioù a ra ar vasonerien*

Do the walls do the masons

As in (10) or (15).

This main verb '*ober*' can be replaced by another verb without altering the grammaticality of the sentence. In (18) '*ober*' is replaced by '*sevel*' (to raise).

(18) *Ar vasonerien a sav ar mogerioù*

The masons raise(+pres) the walls

The masons build the walls.

3.12 Anaphoric '*ober*'

This second '*ober*' arises whenever an infinitival VP, the main verb and its complement are placed in topic position. In (19) the main verb of S_2 and its object complement have been topicalized. The anaphoric verb in S_2 carries the morphological properties, in this case it is the past tense, the subject remains to the left of the verbal element.

(19) *Sevel ar mogerioù* [*a ouien* [*e rae ar*
 S_1 S_2
 Raise the walls know+past+1S do+past the
vasonerien]]
 masons

I knew that the masons built the walls

This '*ober*' shares all the morphological properties shown by any verb: tense (19), verbal particle (19), aspect (20), voice (21), negation (22) and person inflection (22); like main verb '*ober*' anaphoric '*ober*' is a transitive verb.

(20) *Sevel ar 'mogerioù o deus graet ar vasonerien*

Raise the walls have(+perf) done the masons

The masons have built the walls.

(21) *Sevel ar mogerioù a oa graet gant ar vasonerien*

Raise the walls be+pass+past done by the masons

The walls were built by the masons.

(22) *Sevel ar mogerioù a ra ar vasonerien met posan mein glaz*

Raise the walls do the masons but lay slates

ne reont ket

neg do+3P neg

The masons build the walls but they do not lay slates.

This '*ober*' is void of any semantic content and it cannot be replaced by another verb, as its homonym is (18).

(23)* *Sevel ar mogerioù a grog ar vasonerien*

Raise the walls begin the masons

Anaphoric '*ober*' does not have the freedom of movement allowed to other verbs. It is always placed inside S.

It could be argued, however, that 'anaphoric '*ober*' and main verb '*ober*' are distinct only on the basis of the fact that anaphoric '*ober*' is bound and coreferential with the antecedent VP placed under

topic, whereas the meaning of main verb 'ober' is fixed by the context. The meaning of main verb 'ober' is determined by the complement 'ober ar mogerioù' (do the walls) does not mean exactly the same as 'ober krampouezh' (do or make pancakes). The range of activities covered by 'do' can be very wide, as it is related to some action involving its object. Vagueness or indeterminacy of an item or a phrase has been described by Kempson (1977, 125-6).

The distinction between main verb 'ober' and anaphoric 'ober' may be compared to the distinction between deitic 'it' and anaphoric 'it'. The distinction is drawn from the interpretive rules applying in the context rather than from lexical or morphological properties.

The same ambiguity which exists between anaphoric and deitic NP pronouns holds between the two 'ober'. It could be argued that main verb 'ober' and anaphoric 'ober' are the same verb; they are distinguished by the ways they are used.

However, there is another distinction between the two verbs. Main verb 'ober' can be followed by an indirect complement of the form 'da NP' (to NP) and an infinitival verb phrase.

(24) *Lomig a raio d'ar vugale dastum avalou.*

Lomig do(+fut) to+the children collect apples

Lomig will get the children to collect apples.

The semantic subject of the infinitive 'dastum' is the preceding NP 'ar vugale'. If there is no NP in that position the subject of 'dastum' remains unspecified.

In the case of anaphoric 'ober', the semantic subject of the fronted VP is always interpreted as being the subject of 'ober'.

Although a certain ambiguity may appear between the two 'ober', they do not have exactly the same properties. The distinctive characteristic of anaphoric 'ober' is that it is always anaphoric with the VP antecedent. If anaphoric 'ober' had to be subcategorised for its complement, it would have to be subcategorised for a gap in the complement position, a rather strange rule: 'ober' []. It is 'ober' itself which is the anaphoric element.

3.13 'Auxiliary'ober'

The third 'ober' shares the distribution of a restricted class of verbs, the auxiliary verbs perfective 'eus' and passive 'bezan', in root or independent clauses.

The main verb and auxiliary 'ober' constructions pattern in the same way as the past participle auxiliary constructions found in perfective and passive sentences in examples (24), (25) and (26), with the main verb in a non finite form placed to the left of the tensed auxiliary.

(24) *Prenañ a ri ur wetur nevez*

(Buy(+inf) do(+fut+2S) a car new

You will buy a new car.

(25) *Prenet az peus ur wetur nevez*

Buy(past part) have a car new
(+perf)

You have bought a new car.

(26) *Prenet eo ar wetur gant Jobig*

Bought is(pass) the car by Jobig

The car is bought by Jobig.

This 'ober' is mutually exclusive with the perfective and the passive auxiliaries as shown by the ungrammaticality of (27) and (28).

(27)* *Prenan az peus graet ur wetur nevez*

Buy(+inf) have(perf) done a car new

(28)* *Prenan a zo graet ur wetur nevez*

Buy(+inf) is done a car new

Anderson (1981) considered structure (27) to be grammatical. Consequently he treats VP topicalized structures and main verb-auxiliary structures as resulting from the same process, namely, topicalization, giving rise to the same 'ober'.

Although main verb fronting has been often regarded in the literature as a device for emphasising the verb, Leclerc (1911, p.80) stated "Si l'infinitif a un complément, on place celui-ci après lui ou après l'auxiliaire dans les temps simples et toujours après lui dans les temps composés". By "temps composés" Leclerc refers to complex verb forms with the perfective or passive auxiliary. (24) and (25) are grammatical but (27) and (28) are not.

Gros⁽¹⁾ also rejected Anderson's example reproduced here as (29)

(1) Jules Gros personal communication.

((22) in Anderson, 1981). All the native speakers I have consulted rejected it too.

(29)* *Koll am eus graet ma hent*

Lose have(perf) is done my way

I have lost my way.

The ungrammaticality of (29) is due to the presence of the perfective auxiliary 'eus' with 'ober'. This sentence is similar to the 'surcomposé', a verbal combination similar to the French structure with 'avoir' (30).

(30) *Quand il a eu chanté, je suis parti*

When he has had sung I am gone

I went once he had sung.

Breton, too, has a similar surcomposé and it is widely used (31).

(31) *Kollet am eus bet ma hent*

Lost have(perf)+1S been my way

I have lost my way.

It is never the case that 'ober' can be used in conjunction with another auxiliary in root clauses. It is clear that 'ober' is mutually exclusive with the auxiliary verbs. Anaphoric 'ober', on the other hand, can be used with the perfective 'eus', passive 'bezañ' (Section 2.2) and also

surcomposé, where it is preceded by 'eus' and 'bet' (32)

(32) *Koll ma hent am eus bet graet*

Lose my way have(perf)1S been done

I have lost my way.

There exists a further contrast between the two 'ober', anaphoric and auxiliary. The distribution of auxiliary 'ober' is restricted to positive declarative root clauses. Anaphoric 'ober' on the contrary has a much wider distribution, almost like any other verb. It is found in negatives and in embedded clauses as well as in main clauses.

The following examples containing auxiliary 'ober' associated with main verb fronting in negatives and embedded clauses are ungrammatical, but where 'ober' is associated with VP topicalization, the results are grammatical.

(33) *Ne debr ket Yann krampouezh ed-du*

Neg eat neg Yann pancakes buckwheat

Yann does not eat buckwheat pancakes.

(34) **Debrin ne ra ket Yann krampouezh ed-du*

Eat neg do neg Yann pancakes buckwheat

(35) *Debrin krampouezh ed-du ne ra ket Yann*

Eat pancakes buckwheat neg do neg Yann

Yann does not eat buckwheat pancakes.

(36)* *Debrin* [*a ouien* [*ne rae ket Yann krampouez ed-du*]]
 Eat ^{S₁} knew+1S ^{S₂} neg did neg Yann pancakes buckwheat

(37) *Debrin krampouezh ed-du* [*a ouien* [*ne rae ket Yann*]]
 Eat pancakes buckwheat ^{S₁} knew+1S ^{S₂} neg did neg Yann

I knew that Yann did not eat buckwheat pancakes.

The auxiliary '*ober*' differs from anaphoric '*ober*' by its distribution. On the one hand, it is mutually exclusive with the other auxiliary verbs perfective '*eus*' and passive '*bezañ*', and on the other hand, it does not occur in the same structure as the anaphoric one.

Each is associated with a specific structure. Auxiliary '*ober*' is present in main verb auxiliary inversion, similar to that described in Wojcik (1976)⁽²⁾, anaphoric '*ober*' is present in VP topicalized structures. In the next section we shall see that verb fronting is not topicalization.

Finally, auxiliary '*ober*' does not possess all the grammatical properties of a verb, in particular it does not take the perfective nor the passive auxiliary.

For these reasons a distinction ought to be made between the two '*ober*'. The contrast which exists between the two '*ober*', the auxiliary and the anaphoric verb correlates with the contrast existing between the syntactic rules required to generate sentences containing a topic and those with no topic. This contrast I shall now discuss in the next section.

 (2) The auxiliary main verb inversion rule was illustrated only with perfective '*eus*' and the copula verb '*bezañ*'. Here I extend Wojcik's analysis to auxiliary '*ober*'.

3.2 Topicalization and Neutral Word Order in Matrix Clauses

3.21 Topicalization

The term 'topicalization' is intended to cover any syntactic process which enables a constituent to appear in first position and thus be given prominence in the string.

The topicalized constituent is related to either an empty position or to an anaphoric element inside S. This pertains whether we adopt a transformational analysis, Chomsky Extended Standard Theory (EST) (1972, 1975), or a Phrase Structure grammar of the type developed by Gazdar (see Gazdar 1981, on the derivation of topicalized and related structures in a phrase structure grammar).

Topicalization is very similar to WH movement (Chomsky, 1977). The two processes apply to the same constituents in root and embedded clauses producing similar outputs.

This contradicts Anderson's statement (Anderson and Chung, 1977, p. 17) that topicalization cannot raise an element out of a lower clause into the topic position at the upper level. Sentence (38) (36B(c) in Anderson (1977), is grammatical and should not be starred.

- (38) *Da genteliou en deus lavaret an Aotrou Kere e oa ret*
Your lessons has said Mr Kere was ought
dit deskin mat
to+2S learn well

Mr. Kere said that you had to learn your lessons well.

Examples (39) to (44) illustrate the parallel which exists between topicalized and WH constructions. The dots indicate the position normally filled by the fronted constituent.

- (39) *[Petra*
He c'henteliou] [*am eus klevet* [*en doa lavaret*
 What
 Her lessons have+1S heard had said

an Aotrou Kere [e tiske Anna mat]]]
 Mr. Kere learnt Anna well

(39a) What have I heard that Mr. Kere said Anna learnt well?

(39b) I have heard that Mr. Kere said that Anna learnt her lessons well.

- (40) *[Piv*
Anna] [*am eus klevet* [*en doa lavaret an Aotrou Kere*
 Who
 Anna have+1S heard had said Mr. Kere
e tiske ... he c'henteliou mat]]]
 learnt her lessons well

(40a) Who have I heard that Mr. Kere had said learnt her lessons well?

(40b) As (39b).

- (41) *[Penaos*
Mat] [*am eus klevet* [*en doa lavaret an*
 How
 Well have+1S heard had said
Aotrou Kere [e tiske Anna he c'henteliou]]]
 Mr. Kere learnt Anna her lessons ...

(41a) How have I heard that Mr. Kere said that Anna learnt her lessons?

(41b) As (39b)

- (42) *[Petra*
Deskin he c'henteliou] *[am eus klevet* *[en doa*
 What
 Learn her lessons have+1S heard had
lavaret an Aotrou Kere [e rae Anna mat]]]
 said Mr. Kere did Anna well

(42a) What have I heard that Mr. Kere had said that Anna did well.

(42b) As (39b).

3.22 Absence of topicalization in root clauses of the type main verb- auxiliary

The process by which the non-finite verb alone is placed to the left of the tensed auxiliary as in (24), (25) and (26) repeated here as (43), (44) and (46) is not comparable to topicalization.

- (43) *Prenan a ri ur wetur nevez*

Buy do(+fut+2S) a car new

You will buy a new car.

- (44) *Prenet az peus ur wetur nevez*

Buy(+past part) have(perf)+2S a car new

You have bought a new car.

- (45) *Prenet eo ar wetur gant Jobig*

Buy(+past part)been(pass) the car by Jobig

The car is bought by Jobig.

Whereas topicalization can operate on an embedded verb and its complements, it is not possible to place the embedded verb alone in front of the whole sentence as shown by the ungrammatical result in (46).

- (46)* [*Deskin*] [*am eus klevet* [*en doa lavaret*
Learn have+1S heard had said
an Aotrou Kere [*e rae Anna he c'henteliou*]]]
Mr. Kere did Anna her lessons

The order main verb auxiliary is restricted to matrix clauses or independent clauses. In (47) the ^{subordinate}main verb '*deskin*' (to learn) has been placed to the left of the auxiliary '*ober*', and in (48) the past participle '*desket*' to the left of the perfective auxiliary. Both are ungrammatical.

- (47)* [*Lavaret en deus an Aotrou Kere* [*deskin a ra*
said has Mr. Kere learn do
Anna he c'henteliou]]
Anna her lessons
Mr. Kere said Anna learns her lessons

- (48)* [*Lavaret en deus an Aotrou Kere* [*desket he deus*
said has Mr. Kere learnt has
Anna he c'henteliou ⁽³⁾]]
Anna her lessons
Mr. Kere has said that Anna had learnt her lessons.

(3) Such structures are possible only if the S₂ is quotative.

Topicalization and WH formation show great similarity (Section 3. 21.) They apply to the same type of constituents. A verb and its complement can be either topicalized or placed in front of S as a WH phrase. In the same way that topicalization fails to apply to the verb alone, WH formation also fails to generate a grammatical output when the verb alone is questioned.

- (49) *Plantañ a ra legumaj*
Plant do+3S vegetables
He/she plants vegetables.

- (50)* *Petra a ra legumaj ?*
What do+3S vegetables ?

Topicalization and main verb fronting in root clauses are two distinct processes. It seems that the latter involves shifting the main verb around an auxiliary. This has been proposed by Wojcik,(1976b). He showed that the presence of the non-finite verb in the initial position required the obligatory presence of an auxiliary. He concluded that the base order of constituents in Breton be AUX V S O, the order in the complement clause.

In a phrase structure grammar the main verb would have to be generated in the first position by PS rules, the difficulty would be to account for two types of derivation for the constituent S.

S → AUX V
S → V AUX

This will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Main verb fronting or shifting is blocked in negatives, but topicalization is not. The affirmative sentences (51) and (52) are independent clauses with the main verb shifted to the left of the auxiliary. Their negative counterparts are (53) and (54). (55) and (56) are negatives with the main verb in first position, they are ungrammatical. However, (57) contains a topic in front of the negative *ne*, and it is grammatical.

(51) *Kollet en deus ar martolod e gasketenn*

Lost has the sailor his cap

The sailor has lost his cap.

(52) *Koll a reas ar martolod e gasketenn*

Lost do+past the sailor his cap

The sailor lost his cap.

(53) *N'en deus ket kollet ar martolod e gasketenn*

Neg has neg lost the sailor his cap

The sailor has not lost his cap.

(54) *Ne gollas ket ar martolod e gasketenn*

Neg lose(past) neg the sailor his cap

The sailor has not lost his cap.

(55)* *Kollet n'en deus ket ar martolod e gasketenn*

Lost neg has neg the sailor his cap

(56)* *Koll ne reas ket ar martolod e gasketenn*

Lose neg do+past neg the sailor his cap

(57) [*Koll e gasketenn*] [*ne reas ket ar martolod*]

Lose his cap neg do+past neg the sailor

The sailor did not lose his cap.

As the result of topicalization, a constituent is placed in front of the whole S in affirmative and negative sentences alike. That main-verb shifting fails to apply in negatives, suggests that the verb is not placed outside S, but inside. We can compare the structures in (58).

(58a) [TOPIC] [(AUX) V X]
S

(58b) [W H] [(AUX) V X]
S

(58c) [V AUX X]
S

(58d) [Neg (AUX) V X]
S

The presence of an auxiliary is obligatory in declarative root clauses when they are positive (example (58c)). This is why Wojcik, 1976b referred to the main verb auxiliary shift as an auxiliary requiring transformation.

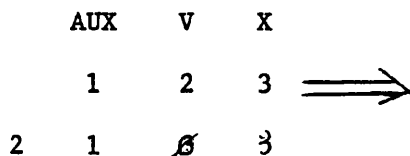
3.3 Summary and Conclusion

Topicalization and main verb shifting are two distinct processes. The former places a constituent in front of S and this constituent is related to a position or an anaphoric element inside S.

Main verb shifting simply places the non-finite verb to the left of the tensed auxiliary, inside S. As it involves two adjacent constituents and no variable, this rule could be classified as a local transformation by Emonds' definition (1976, p.4). However, it never applies in embedded clauses; thus in order to prevent the rule moving the main verb around the auxiliary in embedded clauses too, the rule should stipulate that the main verb must be placed under the root S (Emonds, 1976, p.3).

The rule shifting the main verb around the auxiliary can be formulated as I.

Rule I



The structure which contains no topicalized constituent should be regarded as the neutral structure. I conclude that sentences like (59) are the neutral sentences of Breton.

(59) *Di flukan a raio an evned bihan* (Gros, 1970)

Hatch do+fut the birds little

The little chicks will hatch.

The distinction between the auxiliary '*ober*' and anaphoric '*ober*' is an essential one. It interacts with the syntactic processes which are required to derive the correct order of constituents in neutral and topicalized structures, respectively. The apparent confusion in the distribution of constituents in the surface structure of (1) to (7) has been resolved.

Topicalization applies to phrasal constituents only. The presence of the verb alone in the sentence initial position before the tensed element is not due to topicalization, but to another type of rule which applies in the root clause only. This distinction between neutral and topicalized structures will be maintained throughout this work.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURE OF THE VP CONSTITUENT

4.0

The surface order of Breton sentences is said to be best derived from a VSO base order (Wojcik, 1976; Anderson, 1977, 1981) via two separate rules: topicalization and a rule of aux verb shift has been suggested for deriving the neutral affirmative matrix clause (see chapter 3.2), Emonds (1979) has challenged the view expressed by Anderson and stated that Breton is a SVO language.

The presence of a constituent formed by a verb and its object, in other words a VP appears to challenge the view that Breton is a VSO language. It is thus important to determine the nature of that constituent which appears in the topic position, but also in complement position inside S.

In order to do so it is necessary to establish the nature of the major constituent; in this case the infinitive verb since as stressed by Lyons (1969) and by Bresnan (1977) "NP and VP ... stand for sentence constituents which are necessarily nominal and verbal, respectively, because they have N and V as an obligatory major constituent" (Lyons, 1969).

Traditionally the infinitival verb form has been regarded as a nominalized form. Trepos (1968, p.200) refers to "les formes nominales du verbe". Denis (1977, p.954) stated "L'infinitif a syntaxiquement un statut nominal". Kervella (1976, p.184) wrote "un anv gwirion eo an anv verb" (the verb noun is a true noun).

Not all grammarians have been so explicit about the nominal form of infinitives. Leclerc (1911, p.122) wrote "quelques infinitifs peuvent être pris substantivement" and Vallée (1931, p.xvi) remarked that

a nominal use of infinitives applied mainly to non-stative verbs. Leroux (1957, p.353) mentioned that the use of infinitives as nominals was in fact rare. Recently, Anderson (1981) has adopted the view that the VP must be a nominalized form although in an earlier paper (1977) he analysed the topicalized VP as consisting of the verb and its complement.

It is true that some infinitives are used as nouns, in which case they show some properties of nominals, i.e., determiners; it is not the case, however, that all infinitives are nominals.

4.1 Description of nominal and verbal characteristics

Verbs.

The verb occurs in two main forms: finite and non-finite. Finite forms include realizations of mood and tense, non-finite forms, the past participle and the infinitive or verbal noun, as it has been often referred to in the literature on Breton (Table I).

All verb forms with the exception of imperative are realised by adding a suffix onto the verb stem. There are numerous infinitive endings including a ϕ suffix. They vary according to verb classes and dialectal variations. These infinitive suffixes do not have a semantic value⁽¹⁾.

A more comprehensive presentation of Breton verb formation may be found in Leroux (1957), Kervella (1976) and Denis (1977).

(1) The suffix 'aat' is an exception. It affixes on verbs of process, and reinforces the idea of progress, i.e.,

gwellaat - to get better
kreskaat - to get taller

Table 4.1- Verb forms.

<u>Verb stem</u>			
<u>Finite</u> <u>Moods</u>		<u>Non-Finite</u>	
<u>-tense</u>	<u>+ tense</u>	<u>past participle</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>
imperative	indicative conditional	- et	- in
	present - ϕ pres - fe		- a
	imperfect - e past - je		- an
	past - as		- out
	future - o .		- aat (1)
			- ϕ

Nouns can be derived from verb stems and from infinitives, as we shall see later.

The derivation of nominals from verb stems may involve the affixation of a suffix which in this case conveys semantic information. When no affixation occurs, the noun is homonymous with the verb stem (Tables 4.2 and 4.3).

Table 4.2

<u>Nominal suffixes</u>	
- er	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{animate} \\ + \text{agent} \\ + \text{masculine} \end{array} \right]$
- ell	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{inanimate} \\ + \text{instrumental} \end{array} \right]$
- ad	$\left[+ \text{content} \right]$
- erez	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{animate} \\ + \text{agent} \\ + \text{feminine} \end{array} \right]$

Table 4.3 Derivation of nominals from verb stems

<u>Derivation of nominals from verb stems</u>	
<u>verb stem</u>	<u>noun</u>
troc'h (cut)	an troc'h (the cut)
c'hoari (play)	ar c'hoarier (the player)
	ar c'hoariell (the toy)
karg (load)	ar gargard (load)

The fact that verbs and nouns are homonymous does not interfere with the interpretation of sentences, since verbs and nouns have distinctive properties which are shown in table 4.4, and sentence (1) is correct.

(1) *Ar soner kozh a son ar son nevez hep poan*

The musician old plays the tune new without effort

The old musician plays the new tune without effort.

Verbs and nouns are clearly distinct. For each positive feature in one category there is a corresponding negative feature in the other. The process by which nouns can be derived from verb stems is not systematic. Many nouns are unrelated to verb stems and many verb stems lack a corresponding noun (table 4.5).

Verbs and nouns belong to discrete categories. The derivation of nouns from verb stems is not a general rule; it has many exceptions. Following the lexicalist hypothesis expressed in Chomsky (1970), this

Table 4.4 Properties of verbs and nouns. (troc'h = cut)

	verb	noun
verbal particle	+ e troc'h a droc'h	-
tense	+ a droc'he [+ past]	-
negation ne .. ket	+ ne droc'h ket	-
person inflection	+ a drochomp [+ 1P]	-
determiners		
articles	-	+ an troc'h
numeral	-	+ daou droc'h
plural	-	+ troc'hou
gender	-	+ troc'h (masc)

Table 4.5 Verb stems and nouns

verb stem	Noun
debr (eat)	* an debr
* levr	al levr (the book)
* dilh	an dilhad (clothes)
* tad	an tad (father)
kar (love)	* ar c'hañ

derivational rule ought to be a lexical rule, since it is necessary to mark which verb stems undergo the nominalization process. One way to proceed is to make separate entries in the lexicon for each item in its category.

4.2 Infinitives

4.20 The infinitival form of the verb, and in fact the past participle too, show only a few of the properties generally associated with the verb such as tense or person inflection.

In some cases infinitives acquire nominal characteristics, determiners for instance, in which case they are clearly used as nouns. In other cases they do not show nominal properties, especially when used in VP constructions and in the verb auxiliary structure of the neutral clause.

4.21 Nominalized infinitives

Some infinitives behave like nouns: they take determiners, adjectives, but not time adverbs, they share the distribution of nouns, and appear in corresponding active-passive constructions.

Table 4.6 Nominalized infinitives.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Noun</u>
gwelout (to see)	ar gwelout (the sight)
debrîñ (to eat)	an debrin (the eating)
dornañ (to thresh)	an dornan (the threshing)
gwelc'hiñ (to wash)	ar gwelc'hin (the washing)
pesketa (to fish)	ar pesketa (the fishing)
klevout (to hear)	ar c'hlevout (the hearing)

Nominalized infinitives can take adjectival modifiers, but not the time adverbial 'alies' which is restricted to verbs. (2) and (3) are grammatical but not (4) and (5).

(2) *Un dornañ berr a zo bet evit ar bloar*

A threshing short is been for the year

Threshing has not lasted long this year.

(3) *Ur studian hir a zo da vezañ skolaer*

A study long is to be teacher

It is a long training to become a teacher.

(4) **Ar gwelout alies a zo un dra gaer*

The sight often is a thing good

(5) **Ar pesketa alies a blij din*

The fishing often please to+me

The nominal characteristics of these nominalized infinitives can be further tested in the active/passive constructions of (6a, b) and (7a, b).

(6a) *Tamm ha tamm e kolle Anna ar gwelout*

Little by little lost Anna the sight

Anna gradually lost her sight.

(6b) *Tamm ha tamm e kolle ar gwelout gant Anna*

Little by little lost the sight with Anna

Anna gradually lost her sight.

(7a) *Echuin a raio Lommig an dornañ evit sizhun*

Finish do+fut Lommig the threshing for week

Lommig will finish the threshing this week.

(7b) *Echuet eo an dornañ gant Lommig evit sizhun*

Finished is the threshing by Lommig for week

Lommig has finished the threshing this week.

Not all infinitives can appear in a nominalised form. Table 4.7 gives some of the infinitives which lack a nominalized form - in some cases there is a corresponding derived nominal, in others none.

Although activity verbs in general have a corresponding nominalized form, some non-activity verbs like 'gwelout' (to see), 'klevout' (to hear) have a homonymous nominal form. I have been unable to find any evidence of the activity verb 'sellout' (to look) and 'selaou' (to listen) occurring in the form *'ar sellout' (the seeing), *'ar selaou' (the listening).

Table 4.7 Infinitives lacking a nominalized form.

Infinitives	nominalized infinitives	nouns
anveout (to know)	*an anveout	an anoudegezh
rankout (to have to)	*ar rankout	
plijout (to please)	*ar plijout	ar blijadur
techan (to look like)	*an techan	an tech
fallout (to wish)	*ar fallout	ar fal (2)
karout (to love)	*ar c'harout	ar garantez

Dialectal variations influence the choice of one of the two nominalized verb forms. For instance, Gros (1974, p.230) gives the infinitive 'kousked' (to sleep), in the dialect of Tredrez Lokemo, but 'kousk' the verb stem is preferred in the dialect of Plouared and Lannuon. Again the lexicon would be the best component of the grammar in which to list such variations. (3)

The use of infinitives as nominalized forms is not a systematic process.

As for the nominals derived from verb stems the rule allowing an infinitive to surface as a nominal should belong to the lexicon. A separate lexical entry is necessary for each nominalised infinitive. (4)

(2) in Pobl Vreizh no. 97, 1978.

(3) Steve Hewitt, Personal communication.

(4) The nominalization of infinitives could be better described as a process similar to that presented by Clark and Clark (1979). Some infinitives, such as "an d'ormañ" or "ar gwelout" (the sight) have become proper idioms, whereas others "ar studian" may sound more affected to the hearer, perhaps because they have a synonym, i.e. "studi". Others are not acceptable although interpretable: for instance "plijout".

4.22 Infinitives in matrix clauses

Without exception⁽⁵⁾ all verbs can occur in sentence initial position, immediately to the left of the tensed auxiliary verb, inside S, provided that the form of the verb is not tensed.

(8) *Koll a ra Yann e hent er c'hoad*

Lose does Yann his way in+the wood

Yann loses his way in the wood.

(9) *Kollet en-deus Yann e hent er c'hoad*

Lost has Yann his way in+the wood

Yann has lost his way in the wood.

We have established that (8) is not a topicalized sentence. The fronting of the infinitive results from the preposing of the main verb around the auxiliary verb.

If we take the view that nominalization is a general rule of the Breton grammar and that all infinitives are nominalized, the infinitive 'koll' in (8) is an NP.

This infinitive, however, shows characteristics which are not shared by nouns.

(5) The locative 'emanñ' which has no infinitival form may occur in initial position. In the Tregor dialect (Leroux, 1957) the verb 'mont' (to go) also occurs in first position in a finite form, i.e.,
'ec'han da gêr'
go+1S to home
I go home.
Dressler (1972).

(i) It does not take a determiner.

(10) * *Ar c'holl a ra Yann er c'hoad*

A lose does Yann in+the wood

(11) * *Ur c'holl a ra Yann e hent er c'hoad*

A lose does Yann his way in+the wood

(ii) The verb in its finite and non-finite form takes the reflexive marker '*en em*' which never precedes a noun.

(12) *Er c'hoad en em gollas Yann*

In+the wood reflex lost Yann

Yann got lost in the wood.

(13) *En em goll a reas Yann er c'hoad*

reflex lose did Yann in+the wood

Yann got lost in the wood.

This contrasts with nominal forms like: '*an emsav*' (the movement), which also contain a verb stem and the prefix '*em*'. In table 4.8 we see that the reflexive does not occur with determiners.

Table 4.8

The reflexive /reciprocal 'en em' with verbs and nouns

Nouns	Reflexive + verb	
an emsav	en em sevel	
the movement	to get oneself up	
an emgann	en em gannañ	*an en em gannañ
the battle	to fight one another	
an emglev	en em glevout	*an en em glevout
the understanding	to agree with one another	

Two more consequences resulting from analysing 'koll' as an NP, ought to be taken into consideration: (i) the grammatical relation of that NP; (ii) the syntactic process which enables that NP 'koll' to surface to the left of the verb, violates syntactic constraints on movement.

(i) Grammatical relation of 'koll'

This infinitive has traditionally been analyzed as the object of the tensed 'a ra'. Thus, according to this traditional analysis (8) contains two object NPs: 'koll' and 'e hent'.

This would make the subcategorisation of 'ober' a unique case in the whole grammar, as Anderson remarked (1981, Section 4). In particular, problems would arise with negative sentences. The corresponding non-topicalized structure to (8) is (14) not (15).

(14) *Ne goll ket Yann e hent er c'hoad*

Neg lose neg Yann his way in+the wood

Yann does not lose his way in the wood.

(15a)* *Koll ne ra ket Yann e hent er c'hoad*

Lose neg do neg Yann his way in+the wood

Note that (15b) which contains a NP in the place of the verb 'koll' in (15a) is grammatical.

(15b) *Yann ne goll ket e hent er c'hoad*

Yann neg lose neg his way in+the wood

Yann does not lose his way in the wood.

The subcategorisation rule for 'ober' would need to specify that this verb has a rule of the form $[NP \quad -]$. No other verb in the language has such subcategorisation. Furthermore, no verb allows more than two NPs, when a third NP occurs it is always inserted in a prepositional phrase.

Another argument which goes against treating 'koll' as a NP is passivization. In the English sentence:

(16a) Bill gave Maria a nice present

the object 'Maria' becomes the surface subject in the passive.

(16b) Maria was given a nice present by Bill.

The constituent 'koll' cannot change its grammatical relation like NP 'Maria', a further indication that it is not a NP.

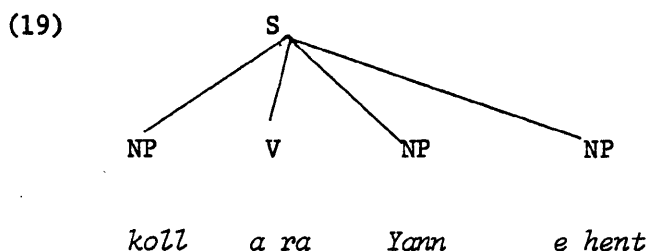
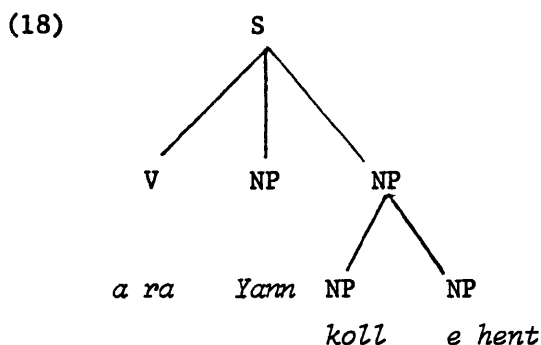
(17) * *Koll a zo graet e hent gant Yann er c'hoad*

Lose is done his way by Yann in+the wood

(ii) Violation of syntactic constraints

Anderson&Chung(1977),Anderson(1981) treated the fronting of the infinitive and the topicalization of VP as resulting from the same process. I have argued earlier (Chapter 2) that this is not the case.

Nonetheless let us consider for the sake of the argument that NP 'koll' has been extracted from the larger constituent 'koll e hent'. The underlying structure for (8) would be as in (18) and the derived structure as in (19).



The head NP 'koll' has been extracted from its constituent phrase thus violating two well established syntactic constraints:

- (a) the left-branch condition (Ross, 1969) "No NP which is the left-most constituent of a larger NP can be reordered out of its phrase".
- (b) The A over A principle (Chomsky, 1973). This principle specifies the conditions under which extraction of a constituent from a cyclic node can apply.

"No rule can involve X, Y in the structure

... X ... $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \alpha \\ \alpha \end{smallmatrix} \right] \dots Z \dots - W Y Z \dots] \dots$

where the rule applies ambiguously to Z and Y, and Z is superior to Y, where α is a cyclic node" (Chomsky, 1973, p.246)

If the rule applies to the head of the constituent, it must apply to the most inclusive constituent, and the head alone cannot be extracted (Bresnan, 1976).

There is no reason to believe that Breton violates these major constraints. In the possessive construction for instance, the head noun cannot be removed at all, although in the modifying NP the possessor may be extracted if a resumptive pronoun is present.

(20) *Laeret eo bet* $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{gwetur Jobig} \\ \text{NP} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$
 stolen is been car Jobig

(21) *Jobig eo bet laeret* $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} e \text{ wetur} \\ \text{NP} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$
 Jobig is been stolen his car

Jobig's car has been stolen.

(22)* *Gwetur eo bet laeret Jobig*

car is been stolen Jobig

Anderson (1981) suggested that sentences should be base generated, thus avoiding the violation of the syntactic constraints. Shifting syntactic rules from the transformational component into the Phrase Structure component should not free the grammar from principled constraints.

Gazdar (1981) has described how Ross' left-branch condition (1969) can be accounted for in a Phrase-Structure grammar and he claimed "constraints once thought of as constraints on permissible movements can be reconstructed as constraints on permissible rules".

There is no motivation for treating the preposed infinitive in neutral root clauses as an NP. It does not bear any of the characteristics of a noun, while showing some properties unique to verbs (i.e., reflexive). As a NP it should enter both active and passive constructions. The fact that it fails passivization indicates that it is not a NP.

Finally as a NP it is a flagrant violation of syntactic constraints which are respected elsewhere in the grammar. No difficulty arises if 'koll' is treated as an infinitive verb.

4.23 Infinitives in topicalized structures

These are found in structures such as (23) and (24).

(23) *Prenañ un ti nevez a raio Anna*

Buy a house new do+fut Anna

Anna will buy a new house.

(24) *Mont da gêr a reas Pol*

go to home do+past Pol

Pol went home.

4.231 VP as a constituent

King (1980, p.35) claimed that there is no real evidence to support

the view that the infinitive and its complement form a constituent.

She mentioned that more than one constituent can be fronted and also that her informant felt the construction with the fronted verb and its object, rather heavy.

I agree that it is possible to have more than one constituent on the left of the verb as we note in these examples from Urien (1978, p.48). But these are left dislocated structures as opposed to topicalized sentences.

(25) *Ar beizanted, bez e teue filc'hier ganto*

The peasants come(+past) forks with+them

The peasants brought forks with them

(26) *Ar beizanted, filc'hier a zeue ganto*

The peasants forks come(+past) with them

The peasants brought forks with them.

Nonetheless in topicalized structures the verb and its complement can undergo tests which are well-known constituency tests: cleft construction and right-node raising.

Cleft

(27) *Prenan un ti nevez eo a raio Anna*

Buy a house new is do+fut Anna

It is buy a new house that Anna will do.

(28) *Mont da gêr eo a reas Pol*

Go to home is do+past Pol

It is go home that Pol did.

Right-node raising

(29) *Dleet oa da Jobig, hag e vreur e oa ken dleet*

Ought was to Jobig and his brother was as ought

all dezhañ prenañ ti an tad kozh

to to+him buy house the father old

Jobig ought and his brother ought to as well, to buy the grandfather's house.

Thus we have sufficient evidence that the infinitive and its complement form a single constituent.

As the constituent headed by the infinitive is in topic position outside S there is no question of abnormality due to a double object construction, nor is there any violation of the left branch constraint or the A over A principle.

However, certain aspects linked with topicalization of VP must be examined.

- (1) obligatory presence of anaphoric 'ober' ;
- (2) ungrammaticality of the resumptive pronoun inside S;
- (3) restriction on the category of infinitives in topic VP;
- (4) coordination;
- (5) internal structure;
- (6) distribution.

4.232 Obligatory 'ober'

Topicalisation of the infinitive and its complement (the VP) requires the presence of an anaphoric verbal element inside S. It is the semantically empty 'ober' (do). This has been discussed in the previous chapter in Section 3.1.2 on the nature of the anaphoric 'ober'

4.233 Ungrammaticality of resumptive pronoun with topic VP

A topicalized NP can be the antecedent of an anaphoric pronoun inside S. This is not the case when a VP is in topic position; (30) is ungrammatical but not (31) and (32).

(30)* *Prenān an ti nevez a raio Pol anezhān*

Buy the house new do+fut Pol it

Buy the new house Pol will do it.

(31) *An ti nevez a breñ Pol anezhañ*

The house new buy+fut Pol it

Pol will buy the new house.

(32) *Pol emañ ar werzh war e di*

Pol is the sale on his house

Pol's house is for sale.

4.234 Restriction on the category of infinitives in topic VP

Trepos (1968, p.192) mentioned that stative verbs cannot occur in the sentence initial position in 'emphatic' constructions.

None of these verbs can be used in the progressive form either which is a characteristic of activity verbs (Vendler, 1957). In the following pairs of sentences, the stative verb and its complement in topic, and the same verb in the progressive form are not found.

(33)* *Gwelout ar mor a ra Yann dre ar prenestr*

See the sea does Yann through the window

Yann sees the sea through the window.

(34)* *Emañ Yann o welout ar mor dre ar prenestr*

Is Yann prog. see the sea through the window

Yann is seeing the sea through the window.

(35)* *Klevout ar c'hloc'h a ra Lenaig*

Hear the bell does Lenaig

Lenaig hears the bell.

(36)* *Emañ Lenaig o klevout ar c'hloc'h*

Is Lenaig prog. hear the bell

Lenaig is hearing the bell.

(37)* *Fellout mont da ger a ra da Anna*

Want go to home does to Anna

Anna wants to go home.

(38)* *Emañ Anna o fellout mont da gêr*

Is Anna prog. want go to home

Anna is wanting to go home.

Yet all the sentences containing an activity verb in the topicalized VP are grammatical. See examples (23), (24), here as (39) and (40).

(39) *Prenañ un ti nevez a raio Anna*

Buy a house new do(+fut) Anna

Anna will buy a house.

(40) *Mont da gêr a reas Pol*

Go to home do(+past) Pol

Pol went home.

The nominalization of infinitives and the topicalization of VPs are two different processes which apply respectively to different cross-categories of verbs.

4.235 Coordination

Among others, Bach (1980) and Gazdar (1981) have stressed that only constituents of the same syntactic category will coordinate, thus we may expect any two NPs to coordinate, and sentences containing an ordinary NP and a nominalized infinitive are grammatical.

(41) *Tremenet mat eo [an dormañ] hag [ar wastell]*

Gone well is the threshing and the end
nominalized INF NP

The threshing and the end of the threshing have gone well.

(42) *[Ur pred mat] hag [ur c'houket da greizteiz]*

A meal good a sleep at mid-day
NP nominalised INF

a ra vat d'an den

do good to the man

A good meal and a siesta are good for you.

- (43) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Douar kraz} \\ \text{soil dry} \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}} \text{ hag } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ur c'herc'had diaez a zour} \\ \text{a fetching hard of water} \\ \text{nominalised INF} \end{array} \right]$

a zo er goumanant-se

is in+the farm demonstr.

In that farm the soil is dry and it is hard to fetch water.

However, in sentences (44) and (45) NPs and infinitive VPs fail to coordinate.

- (44)* *Tro kêr ha prenñ dilhad nevez a ra Anna*

Town and buy clothes new does Anna

A town of the and buy new clothes does Anna.

- (45)* *Glav ha rezviñ a raio warc'hoaz*

Rain and freeze do+fut tomorrow

Tomorrow we shall have rain and frost.

It is noteworthy, however, that an infinitive VP can coordinate with a tensed clause. Such conjoined structures are commonly used in the language. Leroux (1957, p.361) noted that they were also frequent in Middle Breton.

- (46) *Chom a ra un taolig etre daou ha*

Stay do(es)(+3S) a moment between two and

mont adarre war he zrezou

go again on her doorsteps (Denis, 1976, p.109)

She hesitates and goes back to her doorstep.

In addition to these specific aspects of VP, the infinitive verb in the VP behaves like the single infinitive, in root clauses - it does not take determiners, but can be preceded by the reflexive "*en em*".

(47) *En em skein an eil gant eben a reas an div wetur*

Reflex throw the one with other did the two cars

The two cars threw themselves against one another.

We can see in table 4.9 that infinitives in topic VP have none of the features of nouns, while retaining two verbal features.

Two more aspects may be taken into consideration in determining the nature of VPs. One is the internal structure of the VP and NP, respectively; the other is their distribution.

4.3 Internal structure of NPs and VPs

Anderson's (1981) argument for treating VPs as NPs is based on the superficially apparent similarities of their internal structure. His analysis, however, suffers from a misunderstanding of certain aspects of the language.

He compares

(48) (a) *ar mor*

[+def] the sea

(a') *ul levr*

[-definite] a book

Table 4.9 Comparison of verb forms and noun forms

	verb stem	infinitives in matrix clauses	infinitives in topic VPs	nominalized infinitives	nouns
features	troc'h	troc'han	troc'han	troc'han	troc'h
verbal features	finite	+ troc'h	-	-	-
	tense	+a droc'ho + fut	-	-	-
	verbal particle	+adroc'h e troc'h	-	-	-
	reflexive	+ en em droc'h	+	-	-
	negation	+ ne droc'h ket	-	-	-
	person inflection	+ droc'hes 2S	-	-	-
	adverbial modifier	+ droc'h alies(1)	+	-	-
	'ober' support		+	-	-
nominal features	determiners	-	-		
	articles			+	+
	numerals	-	-		+
	resumptive pronoun	-	-	+	+
	plural	-	-	-	+

- (1) The adverb '*alies*' (often) cannot be placed with the infinitive on the left of the auxiliary. The auxiliary-main verb inversion involves the two adjacent constituents only: verb and aux.

(52) ... *en ur laerezh ar re all* (p. 154)

while steal(ing) the others

(53) ... *en ur droc'han ma gwiniz* (p. 255)

while cut(ting) my corn

Normalised infinitives preceded by the article obey the same mutation rule as masculine nouns, this is why they are said to have the masculine gender.

(54) *gwalc'hiñ*

wash

ar gwalc'hiñ dilhad

the washing clothes

the washing

(55) *troc'hañ*

cut

an troc'hañ foenn

the cut hay

the mowing (Kervella, 1976, p.184)

When used in construction with '*en ur*' these infinitives follow the rule of soft mutation (Kervella, 1976, p.86; Trepos, 1968, p.42).

(56) *en ur walc'hiñ dilhad*

(57) *en ur droc'hañ gwiniz.*

The constructions in (48a') and (49a') are not similar.

Constructions with 'en ur' parallel to those with the preverbal particle 'o', which marks progression. 'En ur' indicates simultaneity. Both are aspect markers, their presence indicates a "different way of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie, 1976, p.3). Their distribution is restricted to infinitival verb forms: they do not occur with nouns.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (58) | INFINITIVES | NOUNS |
| | <i>en ur boañ</i> | * <i>en ur boañ</i> |
| | while working hard | pain |
| (59) | <i>o tornañ</i> | * <i>o torn</i> |
| | threshing | hand |

However it may be stated that in spite of their apparent similarity they do not belong to the same category.

The similarity between the internal structure of VPs and NPs may seem more obvious when we look at their PP complements. By restricting the comparison to VP and NP constituents, we may be taking too narrow a view of the structure of the language, since tensed verbs can also take PP complements.

The first two examples (a) and (b) are from Anderson (1981), the third is mine.

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------|
| (60a) | [<i>ul louzou ouzh ar rem</i>] | (a') | [<i>stered en oabl</i>] |
| | NP a remedy against the rheumatism | | NP stars in+the sky |
| (60b) | [<i>sellout ouzh an den</i>] | (b') | [<i>kouezhañ en dour</i>] |
| | VP look against the man | | VP fall in+the water |
| | Look at the man | | Fall in the water |

- (c) $\begin{bmatrix} breman \\ s \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} e & sell & ouzh & an & den \end{bmatrix}$

now look+3S at the man

now he looks at the man

- (c') [dec'h] [e kouezhas en dour]

yesterday fell+3S in+the water

yesterday he fell in the water

Both VP and NP can have a NP complement and Anderson argues that VPs have the same internal structure as possessive NPs.

One possible way of testing this point for Breton is to remove the possessor from its complement position, in which case a resumptive pronoun appears on the left of the head.

- (61a) $\text{NP} \left[c'hoar\text{-}ielloù\text{-}ar\text{-}vugale \right]$

toys the children

- (a') $[\text{kemer ar vugale}]_{\text{VP}}$

take the children

the children's toys

- (61b) Ar vugale eman [o c'hoariellou] war an daol
NP

The children is their toys on the table

The children's toys are on the table.

- (61b') Ar vugale am eus prometet $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{o c'hemer disul} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \right]$

The children have+1S promised them take Sunday

I have promised to take the children on Sunday.

Should 'kemer' be tensed, the same resumptive pronominal form appears on the left of the verb.

(62) *ar vugale* $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} o \\ s \end{smallmatrix} \right] c'hemerin\tilde{n}$ *ware'hoazh*]

The children them take+fut+1S tomorrow

I shall take the children tomorrow.

The possessive pronoun and the object pronoun are homonymous and cause the same spirant mutation in the following consonant. In this case the presence of the resumptive pronoun on the left of the head cannot be a sufficient test. Since the end of the last century Breton has developed a new object pronoun from the inflected preposition 'a' (see Chapter 2).

Denez and Urien (1977-1978, pp. 279-282) have demonstrated that 'a + inflection' has become a pronoun and lost his status of inflected preposition. When it is in construction with a transitive verb, it is mutually exclusive with the other object pronouns and with object NPs. Its pronominal status has in fact been strengthened by its use as a reinforcer of the subject in negative and intransitive constructions.

(63) *Ne c'hoarzh ket morse anezhi* (Urien, 1975)

Neg laugh+3S neg never her

She never laughs

(64) *an harink n'eo ket blev tout anezhan* (Deni's, 1977, p.930)

The herring neg is neg hair all it

The herring is not all bones.

This new pronominal form is excluded with nouns. (65) is ungrammatical and (66) is correct.

- (65)* *Ar vugale n'eman ket* [*c'hoarielloù anezho*]
NP *war an daol*
The children neg is neg toys them on the table

The children's toys are not on the table.

- (66) *Ar vugale am eus prometet* [*kemer anezho disul*]
VP
The children have+1S promised take them Sunday

I have promised to take them on Sunday.

- (67) *Ar vugale a gemerìn anezho disul*
The children take+fut+1s them on Sunday

I shall take the children on Sunday.

Although the surface structure of complex NP (the possessive NP) and VP may be similar they react differently to syntactic rules such as movement. In the case of possessive NPs, extraction of the complement obligatorily requires a clitic pronoun on the left of the head noun. Extraction of the NP complement from an INF VP or a sentence can produce either a resumptive clitic pronoun on the left of the verb whether it is finite or non-finite (examples (61b), (62)) or a resumptive pronoun of the form 'a + inflection' which stays in the NP position on the right of the verb (e.g., (66), (67)). It is never the case that the 'a + inflection' pronominal form can occur in possessive constructions instead of the clitic.

The introduction of the new type of object pronoun makes the internal structure of the constituent formed by an infinitive and its complement closer to the structure of a sentence than to that of a NP.

4.4 Distribution of NPs and VPs

The next argument I shall consider is based on the distribution of NPs and VPs inside S. If we follow the definition for a category, given for instance by Radford (1981, p.48), that categories are sets of elements that have essentially the same distribution, we can expect VPs to appear in the same position as NPs. However, this is not the case.

The order of constituents inside the sentence is very regular and takes the form

[V	NP	NP	PP]
S		Subj	Obj		

The examples below show that a VP cannot appear either in a subject position, nor in an object position, both open to NP.

'*Plijout*' (in (68)) is an intransitive verb and its subject can be either a NP or an infinitive VP. The subject NP can only occur immediately to the right of the tensed verb '*plijout*'. The infinitive VP must be placed after the PP, a position which may also be filled by a tensed clause, examples (68a, b and d).

(68a) *Breman e plij avalou d'ar vugale*

Now please(+pres) apples to+the children

The children like apples now.

(68b) *Breman e plij d'ar vugale c'hoari kartoù*

Now please(+pres) to+the children play(-fin) cards

The children like to play cards now.

(68c)* *Breman e plij c'hoari c'hartoù d'ar vugale*

Now please(+pres) play(-fin) cards to+the children

The children like to play cards now.

(68d) *Plijout a ra d'ar vugale e vez lavaret ar wirionez*

Please do(+pres) to+the children (be+hab+pres) said the truth

The children like to be told the truth.

(68e)* *Plijout a ra e vez lavaret ar wirionez d'ar vugale*

Please do(+pres) be(+hab+pres) said the truth to+the children

The children like to be told the truth.

The same facts hold for the object of a transitive verb which may be either a NP or an infinitive VP or a tensed clause. In (69a) the object NP is placed to the right of the subject as expected, but in (69b) the infinitive VP complement is placed in the last position after the PP. Example (c) is ungrammatical because the VP is after the subject. As in (69c) a tensed clause may also fill the same position after the PP (69d).

- (69a) *Lavaret en deus Lomig gevier d'e vreur*
 said have(+perf+pres+3S) Lomig lies to+his brother

Lomig has told lies to his brother.

- (69b) *Lavaret en deus Lomig d'e vreur kemer*
 said have(+perf+pres+3S) Lomig to+his brother take(-fin)
ar garrigell
 the wheelbarrow

Lomig told his brother to take the wheelbarrow.

- (69c)* *Lavaret en deus Lomig kemer ar garrigell d'e vreur*
 said have(+perf+pres+3S) Lomig take the wheelbarrow to+his
 brother

Lomig said take the wheelbarrow to his brother.

- (69d) *Lavaret en deus Lomig d'e vreur*
 said have(+perf+pres+3SM) Lomig to+his brother
eo kollet ar garrigell
 is lost the wheelbarrow

Lomig said to his brother that the wheelbarrow was lost.

(69e)* *Lavaret en deus* *Lomig eo kollet ar*
 said have(+perf+pres+3SM) Lomig is lost the
 garrigell d'e vreur
 wheelbarrow to+his brother

Lomig said to his brother that the wheelbarrow was lost.

It is only in PPs that infinitive VPs can fill the same slot as NPs, but some prepositions can also take a tensed complement clause. The preposition 'war' (on) can be followed by a NP (70a), an infinitive (70b) or a finite clause (70c).

(70a) *Breman[~]e chomi* *war ar c'hleuz*
 Now stay(+fut+2S) on the hedge

Now you will stay on the hedge.

(70b) *Lom ac'h a* *war gozhaat*
 Lom go(+pres) on age (-fin)

Lom is getting old.

(70c) *War a lavarit neuze n'eo ket gwir* (Gros, 1970, p.231)
 On say(+pres+2S) then neg is neg true

It is not true then from what you are saying.

Thus the distribution of VPs is not identical to the distribution of NPs. VPs do not occur in subject and object positions inside S. NPs, VPs and tensed clauses can fill the same slot inside a PP.

The distribution of infinitive VPs matches the distribution of Ss inside the matrix clause. However, the distribution of Ss is more restricted than the distribution of VPs, in particular Ss do not fill the TOPIC slot as shown by the ungrammaticality of (71b).

(71a) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Krediñ a ra da Fanch} \\ \text{S}_2 \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{e vo ur bern tud er foar} \end{array} \right] \right]$

Believe do to Fanch be(+fut) a lot people in+the market

Fanch believes that there will be many people in the market.

(71b)* $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{e vo ur bern tud er foar} \\ \text{S}_1 \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{e kred da Fanch} \end{array} \right] \right]$

be(+fut)a lot people in+the market believe to Fanch

Thus VPs do not have exactly the same distribution as NPs. They also react differently to transformations, another fact which underlines the difference in their syntactic nature. NPs constitute syntactic islands. It is impossible to extract a constituent from a clause headed by a NP, whether it is a topic or a WH phrase whereas there is no such restriction on the infinitive VP. (72c) is grammatical but (73) and (74) are not.

(72 a) *Anavezout a ra Lom an den a dapas al dluzhenn bras*
know do+pres Lom the man catch(+past) the trout big

Lom knows the man who caught the big trout

(b) *Fëllout ara da Lom tapout al dluzhenn bras*

Desire do(+pres) to lom catch(~fin) the trout big.

Lom wants to catch the big trout.

(c) *Al dluzhenn bras a fell da Lom tapout.*

The trout big desire(+pres) to Lom catch(-fin).

As in b

(73)* *Al dluzhern bras a anaveze Lom an den a dapas ...*

The trout big know+past Lom the man caught

The big trout Lom knows the man who caught

(74)* *Pehini dluzhern bras a anaveze Lom an den a dapas ...*

Which trout big know(+past) Lom the man catch+past

Which big trout did Lom know the man caught.

4.5 Relativization of the infinitive

One more argument which has been discussed by Anderson (1981) is the relativization of the infinitive which, according to him, has occurred in (75).

Anderson gave the following example from Gros (1974, p.230).

(75) *Staoeted a rae ar gigerez en he dilhad gant ar*

Wetted did the butcher(ess) in her clothes with the

c'hoarzin a rae

laugh did

The butcher's wife laughed so much that she wetted her clothes.

'*c'hoarzin*' has been described as a NP by Anderson and also earlier by Gros. In that case '*c'hoarzin*' should be able to move out of the PP as long as the preposition is correctly inflected for person, number and gender⁽⁷⁾.

(7) Nominalized infinitives are masculine. After the definite article they follow the rule of [-mutation] and they are represented by the masculine 3rd person singular.

(76) *Ar mellved a vez labour ganto* (Gros, 1970a p.184)

The snails is+habitual work with+them

The snails are hard to prepare.

(77) *Me am bez fent gant an hini gozh-se*

Me have+1S fun with the one old demonstr.

o tout aze da flibichat

prog come there to nose about

I have fun with that old woman who goes there to nose about

(78) *An hini gozh-se o tont aze da flibichat am bez fent ganti*

I have fun with that old woman who goes there to nose about.

However (79) is ungrammatical although the constituent '*ar c'hoarzin a rae*' has been extracted from the PP and the preposition inflected for third person singular and masculine.

(79)* *Ar c'hoarzin a rae a staote ar gigerez en he dilhad gantañ*

The laugh did+3S urinated the butcher in her clothes with it

This type of construction with '*gant*' - is also found with adjectives and of course it is not possible to extract the adjective from the PP.

(80) *Ne wel ket anezhañ gant ar bihan eo* (Gros, 1970a p.183)

Neg see neg him with the small is+3S

He is so small that she/he does not see him.

No constituent other than a NP can be extracted from a PP because the preposition cannot be dangling and only NPs can be replaced by a pronominal inflection. This explains the ungrammaticality of (82).

(81) *Mont a raio an traoù war wellaat*

Go do(+fut) the things on improve

Things will improve

(82)* *Gwellaat a raio an traoù war*

go do(+fut) the things on

Things will improve.

I consider that the structures presented in Gros (1970a pp. 183-185) are not uniform. There may be at least two types of constructions.

(83a) *gant* NP $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} gant \\ PP \end{smallmatrix} \left[NP \right] \right]$

(83b) *gant* PP $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} gant \\ PP \end{smallmatrix} \left[a \left[\begin{smallmatrix} \{ \\ \text{Adjective} \\ \text{Infinitive} \} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right] \right]$

One example of type (b) with the soft mutation is given in Gros (1970a p.183). This would be expected after the preposition 'a'.

(84) *Ha gant a dost e oan n'am oa ket*

And with of mean be(+past+1S) neg have(+past+1S) neg

kaset arc'hant dezho

sent money to+3P

And I was so mean that I did not send them any money.

Had 'dost' been a noun we should have the form 'tost' with no mutation of the initial 't', according to Gros' analysis.

The following examples have been tested with native speakers. The initial consonant of the infinitive has been mutated after the sound [ə] which may represent either the definite article or the preposition 'a'.

(85) *Krenañ a rae prenestrou an iliz gant*

shake do(+past) windows church with

a ganan a rae an dud

of singing do(+past) the people

The people sang so much that the church windows were shaking.

(86) *Bemdez e vije diwezhat e skol*

Everyday be(+hab+past+3S) late at school

gant a dreinal a rae a-hed an hent

with of crawl do(+past 3S) along the road

He/she crawled so much that he/she was late to school everyday.

(87) *Ruial a rae a n dour diouztan gant*

Run do(+past) the water from(+3SM) with

a boanian a rae

of work do(+past+3S)

He worked so hard that the sweat was dripping from him.

In these cases the initial consonant of the infinitive in (85) and (87) and of the adjective in (86) have followed the rule of soft mutation expected after the preposition 'a', and not the rule of non-mutation associated with masculine nouns preceded by the article. However, not all Breton speakers are totally in accord on this particular aspect of the mutation. Further investigation is necessary before the facts become clear.

At this point I feel that the evidence for analysing the infinitive in (75) as a relativized NP is not strong, and that there is some evidence that it may not be an NP.

4.6 Which nominalization rule?

There is one further argument against any nominalization analysis. Anderson, for example, does not explain how infinitives are nominalized in his analysis. Presumably nominalization would be said to occur in the lexicon, since all infinitives are treated as NPs. The simplest approach would be to have a rule like (88).

(88) nominalization rule: Verb stem + INF affix → Nominal.

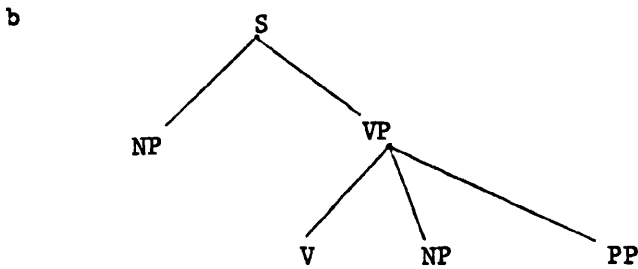
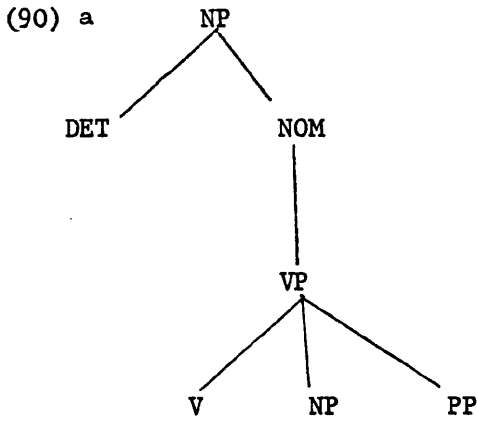
This analysis, however, is too simplistic since it is unable to account for the discrepancy which has been shown to exist between verbal constituents and nominal constituents. Infinitives and derived nominals are characterised by morphological and syntactic properties specific to the categories of verb and noun to which they respectively belong. This would predict that the infinitives in neutral root clauses are nouns, despite evidence to the contrary.

An alternative to a general nominalisation rule in the lexicon would be to apply nominalization in the phrase structure component of the grammar. There are two analyses which may be considered. One is proposed in the non-transformational account of generative nominals in English by Schachter (1976); the other is the deverbalising rule presented by Jackendoff (1977).

In Schachter (1976, p.225) the phrase structure rules expand for the categories S, NP, NOM and VP, those which are the most relevant to the present discussion (fig. 55 in Schachter, 1976, p.225).

- (89) a) $S \rightarrow (\text{ADV}) \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{AUX} \quad \text{VP}$
- b) $\text{NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} (\text{DET}) & \text{NOM} \\ \text{S} & \\ (\text{PP}) & \text{VP} \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{from p.233})$
- d) $\text{NOM} \rightarrow \text{NOM S}$
- VP
- f) $\text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{ADV}) \quad (\text{PER}) \quad (\text{PRO}) \quad (\text{PASS}) \quad \text{V} \quad (\text{NP}) \quad (\text{PP})$

The tree representing the expansion of NP and NOM is represented below and it parallels the tree-marker for S and VP.



In this framework nominalization is not related to the insertion of a lexically nominalized constituent. On the contrary, nominalization is determined by the configuration resulting from the expansion rules, and the presence of a VP derived from S, by rule (89 a) under the NOM node.

However, a process of VP nominalization as the one described here could not be applied to a language in which the base order of constituents is VSO. VSO languages do not have a constituent VP which is derived from S directly by PS rules. The nominalization rule described in Schachter requires that the VP be also derived by the PS rules.

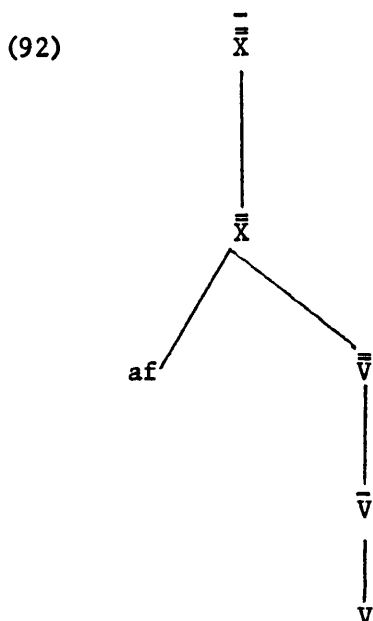
Jackendoff (1977) presents nominalization as a deverbalizing process. It consists of a "deverbalizing rule schema" which expands an X phrasal category (in Jackendoff \bar{X}) X into a V phrasal category

(\bar{V}) plus a grammatical formative or affix.

The deverbalizing rule is presented in (91) (9.1 in Jackendoff, 1977, p.220) and the resulting tree structure in (92).

Deverbalizing rule schema.

$$(91) \quad X^i \rightarrow \text{af}.V^i$$



One aspect of the deverbalising^{rule} may seem to be applicable to Breton; the rule expanding X into $\text{af}.V^i$. The infinitives are formed by affixation of a special suffix to the verb stem (section 4.2).

However, the second aspect of the rule, the expansion of X^i into $\text{af } \bar{V}$ by which nominalization effectively takes place, occurs only at the level \bar{V} . The constituent \bar{V} expands into V (NP) (PP) (\bar{S}), which is the expansion rule of VP in the more classical terminology. Thus the problem remains. Nominalization of VP applies to a structure containing a VP, and at that particular level of constituency, where the VP appears in the structure. \bar{V} does not dominate \bar{V} in a VSO language. It dominates V .

(see chapter 7). Thus the reservations expressed against the nominalization presented by Schachter (1976) also hold with regard to the deverbalizing analysis of Jackendoff (1977).

Should the base order of the constituents in Breton be VSO, the process of VP nominalization by PS rules would not be a feasible solution in a language which does not have a VP constituent in the base. Furthermore, the structural configuration which is seen in these two nominalization accounts contains a VP dominated by a nominal constituent. This would automatically predict that VPs and NPs would coordinate, whereas the evidence is that they do not do so.

However, the general principles expressed in the \bar{X} system are relevant to the analysis, and are not being rejected as such. What is being argued here is simply that whatever nominalization rule applies in the phrase structure, in which \bar{V} or VP is the natural expansion of \bar{V} or S, is at odds with a VSO language.

4.7. Conclusion.

It has been argued in the preceding section that the constituent of VP cannot be analyzed as being a NP. Although some infinitives take nominal features, such as determiners or adjectives and they are therefore listed in the lexicon as nouns, it does not follow that indeed all infinitives are nominal entities.

Analysing the infinitives in root clauses as nouns makes unusual predictions about the subcategorization of the auxiliary verb 'ober' and results in violating syntactic constraints which hold elsewhere in the language.

Furthermore, the internal structure of VPs is not identical with the internal structure of NPs despite Anderson's (1981) assertions to the contrary; like infinitives in root clauses, the infinitives in topicalized VPs retain verbal features and do not acquire nominal characteristics (see table IX). Their distribution does not match the distribution of NPs, and in particular they do not appear in subject and object positions, immediately to the right of the tensed verb inside the clause. In that respect infinitival VPs conform to the pattern of distribution of tensed clauses. However, infinitival VPs have access to TOPIC, a position from which Ss are excluded.

CHAPTER V

A TRANSFORMATIONAL APPROACH

0. Presentation

The VP constituent which occurs under Topic has been shown in Chapter IV to be a verbal constituent and not nominal.

In a transformational framework it should be possible to derive a VP from an underlying S, embedded under the anaphoric '*ober*', using either EQUI NP deletion or subject-raising to remove the subject NP intervening between the verb and its object. This was the proposal made by Anderson and Chung (1977) which led to deletion of the embedded subject using the EQUI rule. Wojcik (1976a) had earlier presented an analysis which used subject-raising which also allowed the VP to be derived from an underlying S. However, this latter article (Wojcik, 1976a) was mainly concerned with the auxiliary-main verb inversion of the neutral root clause which has been considered earlier. For that reason I shall not discuss it any further.

The first part of this chapter will be concerned with examining (a) the transformational approach of VP from an underlying S and how it accounts for the derivation embedded under '*ober*' and (b) the topicalisation process itself.

The two aspects are so closely related that it is not clear how to treat them separately, and I have opted to discuss them in the same context. First, I shall describe the type of VP which appears under Topic. Sometimes it is formed by the infinitive and its direct object, or it may also include a prepositional phrase. This may be explained

in terms of the strict subcategorization requirement of certain verbs, but adverbial modifiers can also be included in the VP, although they may alternatively be attached to the matrix S in the most rightward position.

Following this I shall turn to the application of EQUI and the derivation of VP from S. This has two consequences; first it forces the analyst to prune the node S in spite of evidence that the erasure of the subject NP in Breton does not change the sentential nature of the constituent.

The other consequence is that by using transformations to derive VP prior to topicalization it is not possible to obtain the correct perfective auxiliary with the main verb, without using an ad hoc process - obligatory insertion and obligatory deletion of auxiliaries.

I shall conclude that a transformational approach is not satisfactory and simply suggest that the other alternative is to base generate the topicalized VP.

In the second part I shall examine NP Topicalization and the presence of pronouns in relation to it. The presence of pronouns is not uniquely linked to the movement process of topicalization but is required for purposes of emphasis or contrast. Thus pronouns are generated by the phrase structure rules and interpreted by the more general interpretive rule, relating anaphoric elements to their antecedents (Reinhart, 1981).

5.1 What type of VP under the Topic?

The VPs which occur in the topic position are varied. A VP may consist of (1) the verb and its direct object, (2) the verb and a prepositional phrase or (3) the transitive verb, its object and a prepositional phrase.

- (1) *Terrriñ ur werern en deus Alan*
Break a glass have(+pres+3SM) Alan

Alan has broken a glass

- (2) *Mont da gêr en deus graet*
Go to home have(+perf+3SM) done

He has gone home

- (3) *Lakaat al levr war an daol a raio Anna*
Put the book on the table do(+fut) Anna

Anna will put the book on the table

This is explained by the strict subcategorization properties of the verb. Jackendoff (1977, pp. 58-64) stated that the theory of X-bar syntax provides a principled explanation distinguishing strict subcategorization: the three level structure in (4), where C stands for complement. The chosen complements which are obligatory are attached to the \bar{X} level, and the others to the $\bar{\bar{X}}$ level.

In Breton the transitive verb '*lakaat*' (to place or to put) must also be subcategorized for PP.

The following (a) examples are taken from Gros (1970 b,p.301).

The (b) examples with the missing PP are ungrammatical.

(8a) *Laka ar gwer war an daol*
Put the glasses on the table

(8b)* *Laka ar gwer*

(9a) *Lakait ho troad er par*
Place+2P your foot in+the position
Place your foot in position

(9b)* *Lakait ho troad*

(10a) *Laka da zaouarn ez kodelloù ma vo tomm dezho*
Put(2S) your hands in+the pockets so be+fut hot to+3P
Put your hands in your pockets to keep them warm

(10b)* *Laka da zaouarn*

(11a) *Lakait ar saout en o c'hraou*
Put+2P the cows in their shed
Get the cows in

(11b)* *Lakait ar saout*

In topicalized structures, the verb '*lakaat*', its object NP and the PP must be kept together. The (a) sentences in which '*lakaat*' and its two modifiers are in topic position, are grammatical, whereas the (b) sentences are not. The PP has been left behind.

Anaphoric '*ober*' is used in combination with perfective '*eus*' to emphasise the fact that we are dealing with topicalized structures and not independent neutral structures with auxiliary '*ober*'.

(12a) *Lakaat ar gwer war an daol en deus graet*
 put the glasses on the table have(+pres+3SM) done

He has put the glasses on the table

(12b)* *Lakaat ar gwer he deus graet war an daol*
 Put the glasses has(+pres+3SM) done on the table

(13a) *Lakaat ho troad er par ho peus graet*
 Place your foot in+the position have+2P done

You have placed your foot in position

(13b)* *Lakaat ho troad ho peus graet er par*

(14a) *Lakaat da zaouarn ez kodelloù az peus*
 Put your hands in+your pockets have(+pres+2P)
graet ma vo tomm dezho
 done so that be+fut hot to+3S

You have put your hands in your pockets to keep them warm

(14b)* *Lakaat da zaouarn az peus graet ez kodelloù ma vo tomm dezho*

(15a) *Lakaat ar saout en o c'hraou ho peus graet*

Put the cows in their shed have(+pres+2P) done

You have got the cows in.

(15b)* *Lakaat ar saout ho peus graet en o c'hraou.*

The verb and its modifiers, object NP and PP are fronted together, and thus they must form a constituent.

Moreover, intransitive verbs such as '*mont*' (to go), '*dont*' (to come) must be fronted with the modifying PP in topicalized structures.

(16a) *Mont da gêr en deus graet*

Go to home have(+pres+3SM) done

He has gone home

(16b)* *Mont en deus graet da gêr*

(17a) *Dont deus kêr he deus graet*

Come from town has (+pres+3SF) done

She has come from town

(17b)* *Dont he deus graet deus kêr*

Come have(+pres+3SF) done from town

However, the topicalized VP may also contain the PP adverbial phrase as in (18b), for which the verb need not be strictly sub-categorized.

(18a) *Kannañ e dilhad a ra Mari war ar stank*

wash her clothes do+pres Mari on the pond

Mari does her washing on the pond

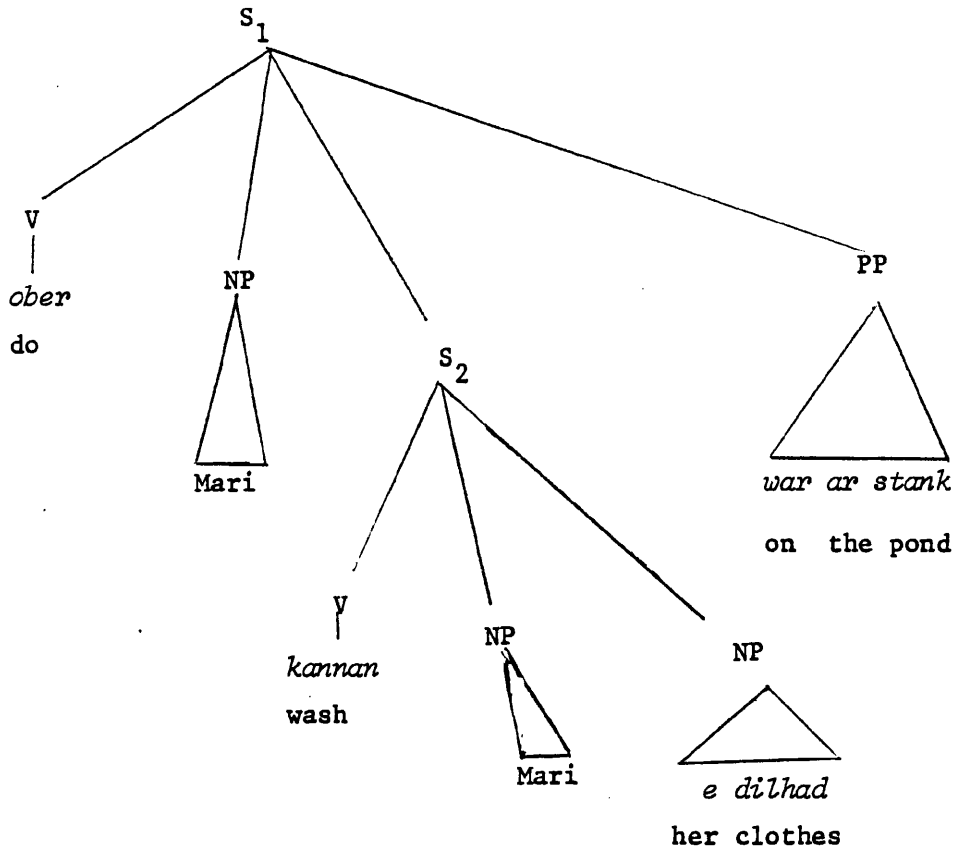
(18b) *Kannañ e dilhad war ar stank a ra Mari*

Wash her clothes on the pond do(+pres) Mari

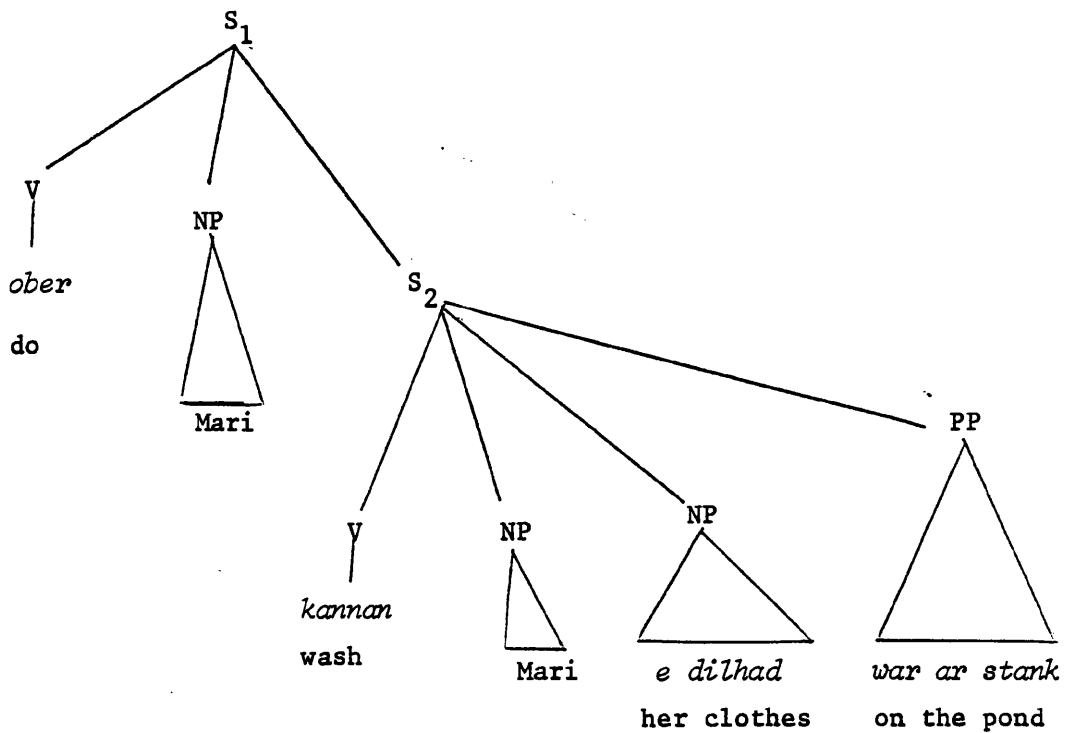
Mari does her washing on the pond

In a transformational framework (18a and b) could be given different structures, respectively (19a) and (19b). In the analysis discussed in this section, the main verb is embedded under 'ober' and the VP will be derived by a transformation as Anderson and Chung (1977) who proposed to use EQUI deletion followed by S pruning to obtain the VP prior to topicalization.

(19a)



(19b)

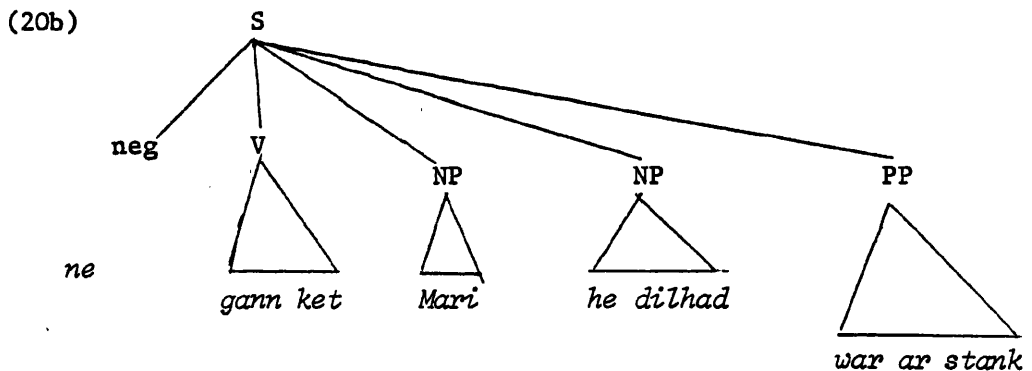


However, it seems counter-intuitive to have two different base structures, (19a) and (19b), in a VSO language like Breton. When there is no topicalization of VP the PP is placed in the usual position after the object NP, at the surface structure. (20) is the derived structure after all transformations (Equi and Verb incorporation, section 5.2) have taken place.

(20a) *Ne gann ket Mari he dilhad war ar stank*

Neg wash neg Mari her clothes on the pond

Mari does not wash her clothes in the pond

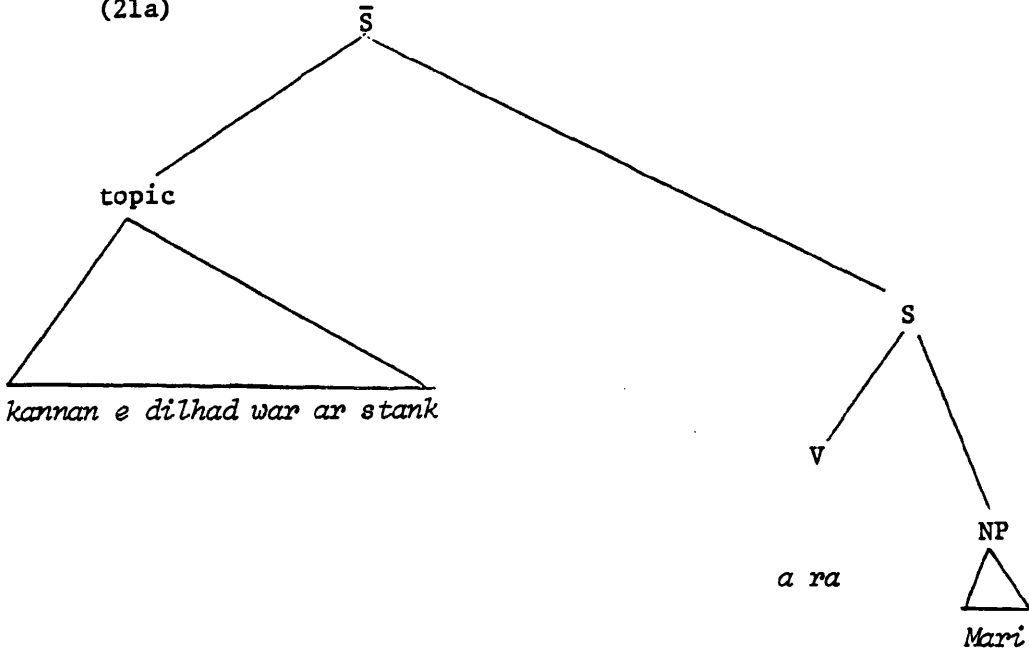


But for this string, the choice of deep structures, (19a) or (19b) would be arbitrary.

Instead of having two deep structures, (19a) and (b), only (19b) could be chosen. In that case, it would be necessary to use extra-position to extract the PP from the fronted constituent, to obtain (18a).

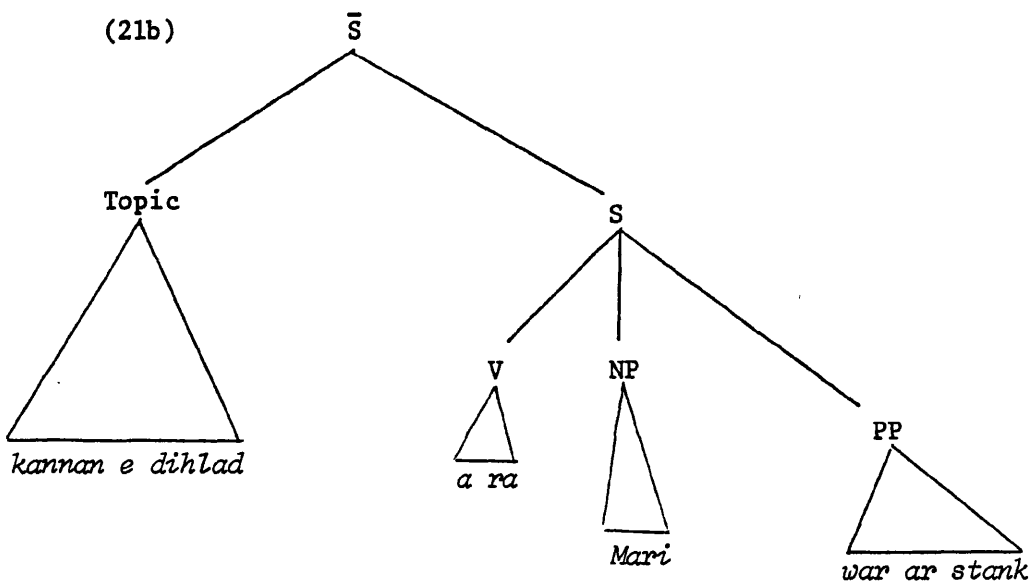
This is illustrated in (21). (21) is an intermediate structure after Equi Deletion and topicalization have taken place.

(21a)



Extrapolation removes PP 'war ar stank' and places it under S.

(21b)



McCloskey (1982) argued that extraposition can explain why in some cases the VP constituent (\bar{V} in McCloskey, 1982) is split, with the verb and some of its complements in the fronted position and others at the end of the whole string.

In a transformational analysis for which extraposition of this kind is adopted, only one deep structure is necessary. However, notice that the effect of the two transformations operating is firstly to front the whole constituent, and secondly to replace a constituent back in the position at the end of the sentence.

An alternative solution, which will be adopted later, consists of deriving the topicalized constituents in position from the phrase structure rules. Extraposition will still be needed to place the PP or the Adverbial Phrase at the end of the sentence. It may be explained as a stylistic rule. It would certainly help to avoid the inelegant and not entirely justified process of moving constituents to a front position, from which they have to be removed and placed back in their original linear order.

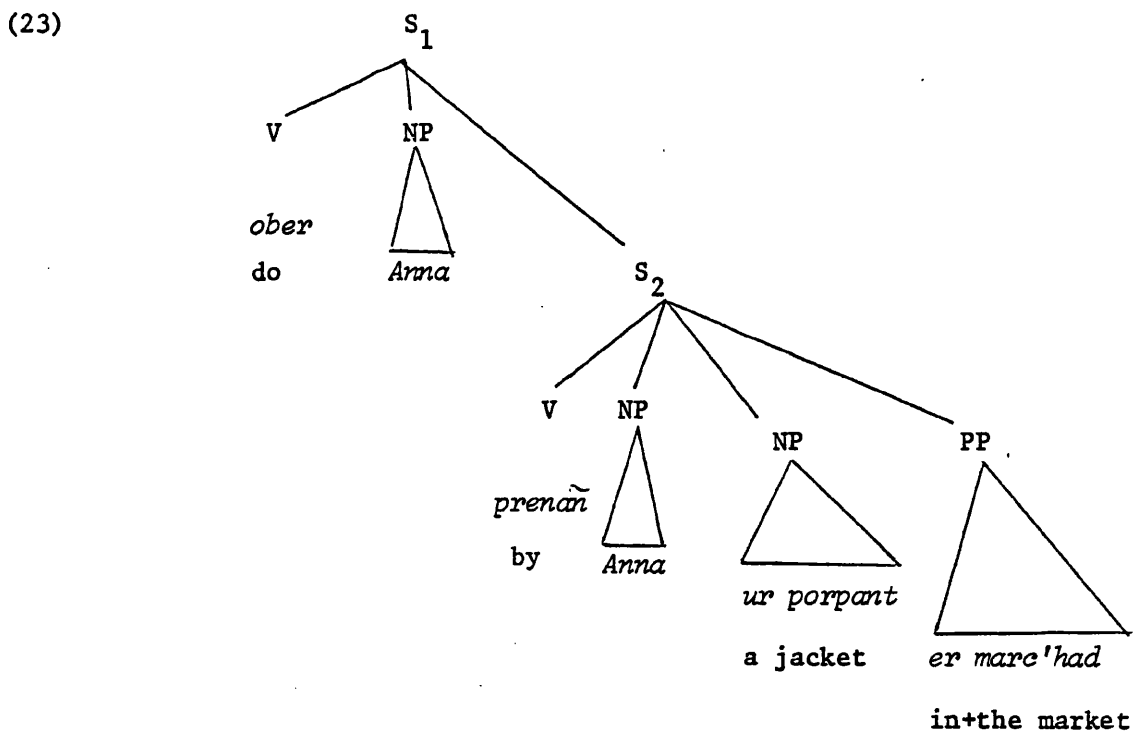
The underlying structure (19b) will be adopted in the following discussion and evaluation of the transformational approach. The reason is that by adopting one deep structure, it is possible to derive through transformations all the surface structures and there is no real justifications in maintaining the two - (19a) and (19b).

5.2 Derivation of VP and Equi Deletion

The analysis under review here is that proposed by Anderson^S and Chung (1977). The main assumption is that the VP constituent has originated in an underlying sentence, embedded under the verb 'ober',

the anaphoric '*ober*' discussed in Chapter 3. The base order of the constituents is VSO and the first phrase structure^{rule} is given in (22), which is the main rule for characterising (23).

(22) $S \rightarrow V \text{ NP (NP) (PP) (S)}$



(23) is the underlying structure for all the sentences (24) to (28).

(24) *Prenã a reas Anna ur porpant er marc'had*
 Buy do+past Anna a jacket in+the market
 Anna bought a jacket in the market

(25) *Anna a brenas ur porpant er marc'had*

Anna buy(+past) a jacket in+the market

Anna bought a jacket in the market

(26) *Ur porpant a brenas Anna er marc'had*

A jacket buy+past Anna in+the market

Anna bought a jacket in the market

(27) *Prenan ur porpant a reas Anna er marc'had*

Buy a jacket do+past Anna in+the market

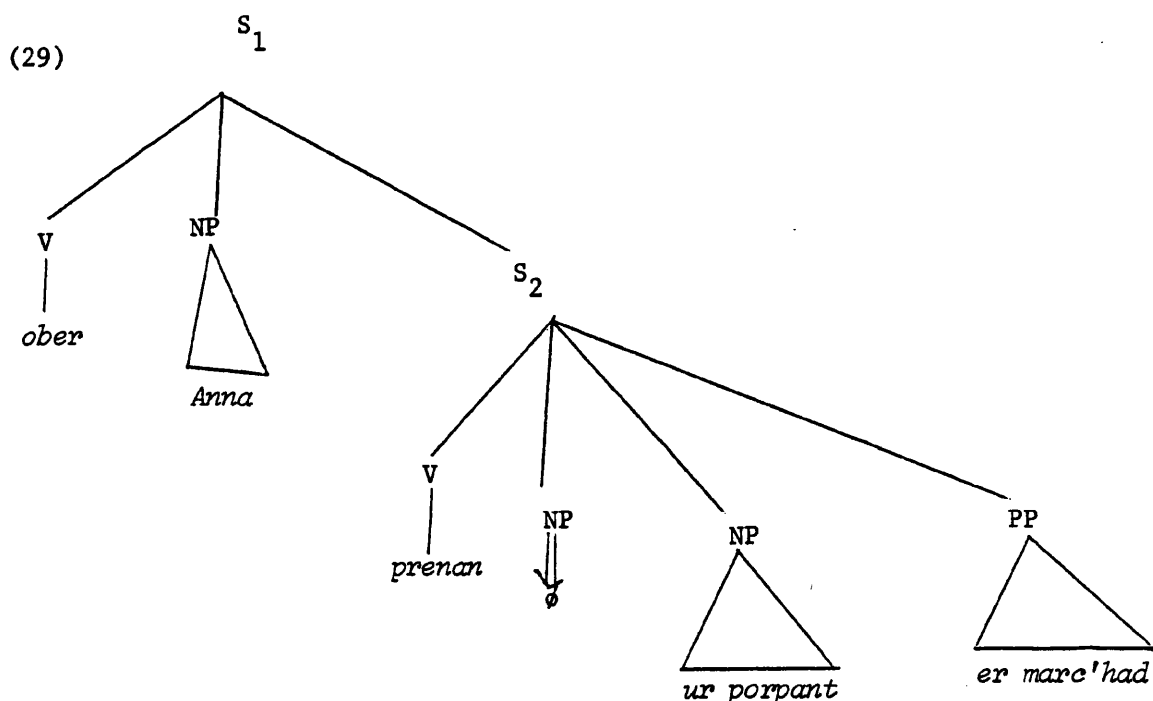
Anna bought a jacket in the market

(28) *Er marc'had a brenas Anna ur porpant*

In+the market buy+past Anna a jacket

Anna bought a jacket in the market

Equi applies to (23) and the derived structure is (29).



Anderson and Chung did not indicate clearly whether S_2 should be pruned and replaced by VP, although they used the expression "reduced clauses" (1977, p.16) to refer to the embedded clauses after the application of Equi.

Pruning S nodes was proposed by Ross (1969) in configurations where S no longer dominated NP and VP. In a language like English, the loss of NP meant that S was no longer dominating a branching node, and of course that entailed loss of the subject.

That pruning of S should automatically follow the loss of the subject NP has been challenged, and Postal (1974, p. 231-234) presented a number of reasons for not adopting the rule in cases where Equi or Subject Raising had removed the subject from the embedded clause.

S pruning after the deletion of the subject is not justified in Breton. There exists at least one group of subjectless sentences which cannot be regarded as VPs. Verbs like '*sellout*' or '*sentin*' are strictly sub-

categorized for a PP.

- (30a) *Sentiñ a ra ar vugale ouzh ar skolaer*
obey do(+pres) the children to the teacher
The children obey the teacher

The corresponding passive is (30b)

- (30b) *Sentet e vez ouzh ar skolaer*
obeyed be(+hab+pres) to the teacher
The teacher is obeyed

We do not want to say that (30b) is a VP. It does not have the distribution of the VP and it cannot appear under topic in the same way as VP may do.

- (31a) *Lavarout a ra Anna e vez sentet ouzh ar skolaer*
say do (+pres) Anna be(+hab+pres) obeyed to the teacher
Anna says that the teacher is obeyed

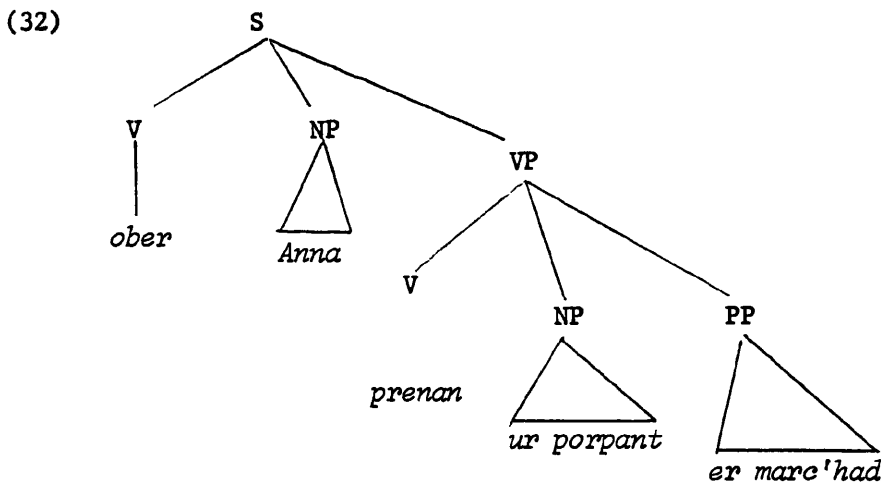
- (31b)* *E vez sentet ouzh ar skolaer e lavar Anna*
be(+hab+pres) obeyed to the teacher say(+pres) Anna

However it is essential that pruning takes place under the transformational analysis, in order to obtain the type of constituent which undergoes topicalization: VP, and not S. Thus, Anderson and Chung's (1977, p.17) statement does not give the explicit reason for pruning.

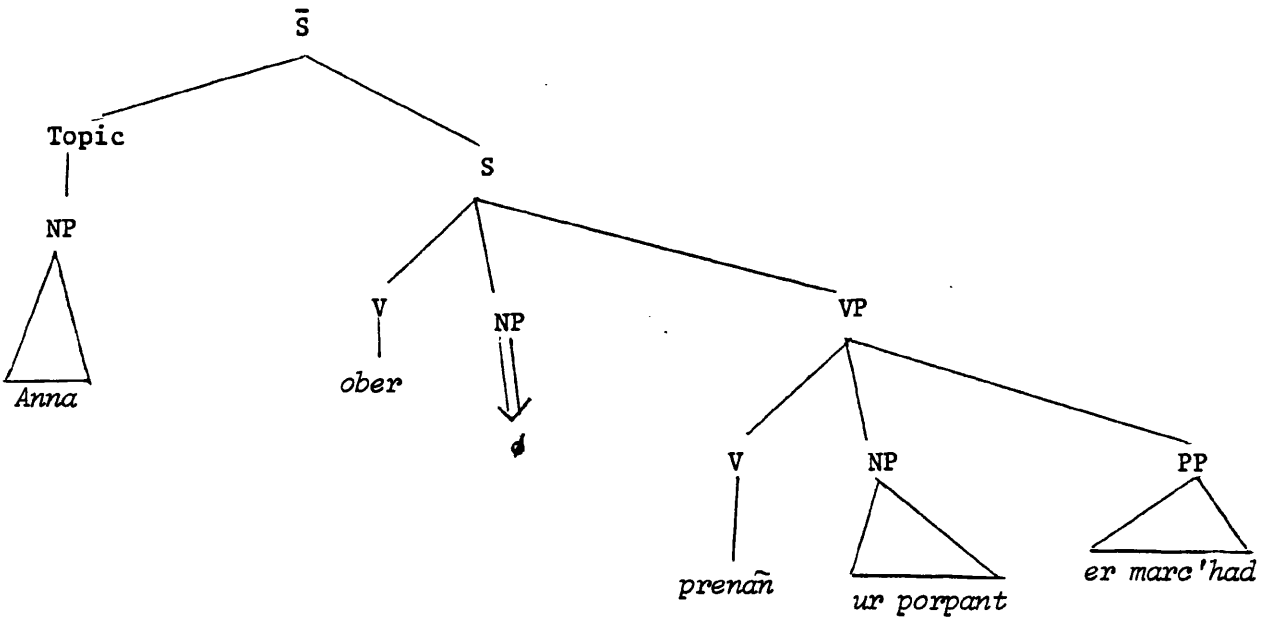
It is not because topicalization cannot take place in a full clause, we have seen that it does (Chapter 3) - but pruning is crucial if the distinction is to be maintained between the type of syntactic categories: VP which undergoes topicalization and S which does not.

5.3 Topicalization

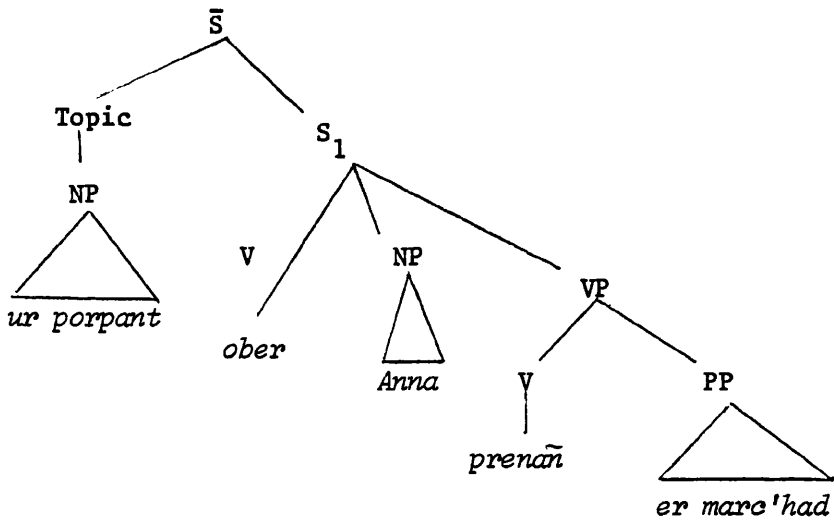
After this digression on the merit of pruning S in Breton, we now turn to the process of topicalization within the normal transformational assumptions, under which the structures (33) to (36) are derived from (22b), repeated here as (32) for reasons of convenience. (32) also shows the VP label in the place of the pruned S_2 . The \bar{S} node (33) to (36) is necessary because topic is attached to ^{the} node higher than S.



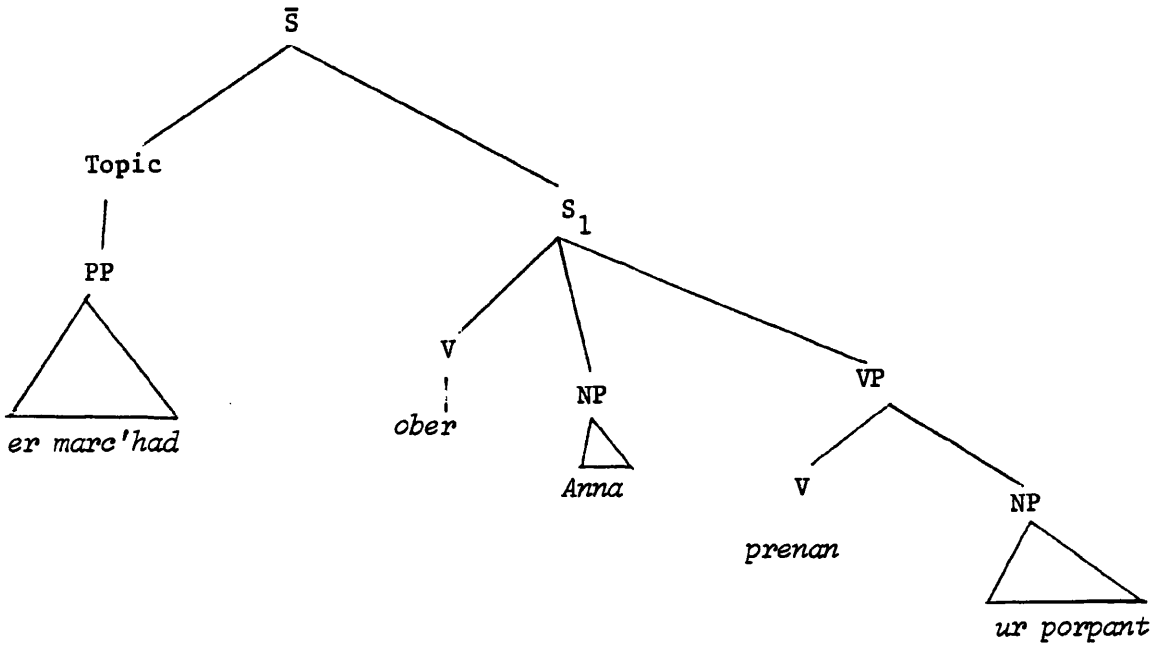
(33) Topicalization of the subject NP



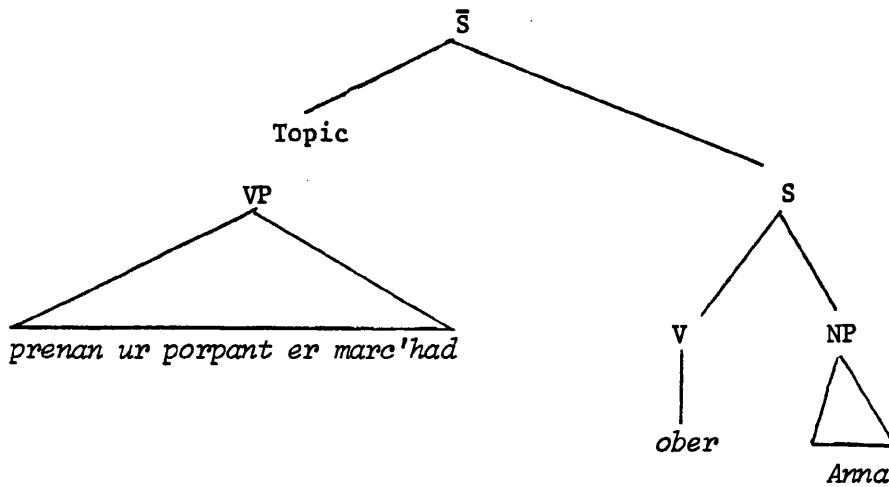
(34) Topicalization of object NP



(35) Topicalization of PP



(36) Topicalization of VP⁽¹⁾



(1) Under the analysis adopted in this section extraposition will remove PP '*er marc'had*' at a later stage.

Topicalization gives the correct output in (36), but in all other cases (33), (34) and (35), the output is ungrammatical. The reason is that '*ober*' is superfluous and the main verb '*prenan*' is placed in the wrong position.

Anderson and Chung (1977, p21) proposed that "a sort of incorporation rule which if topicalization had not taken place would replace the inflected form of '*ober*' with a form of the main verb".

The statement is not complete - it should include 'if topicalization of the VP has not taken place, for it is only in that particular case, that the output of topicalization is grammatical.

In all other structures derived from the application of Equi, including non-topicalized positive and negative structures, anaphoric 'ober' is superfluous. (37) and (38) are ungrammatical. I have included the perfective auxiliary 'eus' with 'ober' in (38) to show that it is anaphoric 'ober' which creates the problem (see Chapter 3 for the difference between auxiliary 'ober' and anaphoric 'ober').

(37)* *ne ra ket Goulven lenn al levr*
neg do(+pres) neg Goulven read the book

Goulven does not read the book

(38)* *Lenn he deus graet Goulven al levr*
Read have+pres done Goulven the book

Goulven has read the book

The verb incorporation rule would need to be stated within a global constraint such as: Verb incorporation rule: apply in all cases except when VP has been topicalized.

Alternatively, it would have to list all the environments in which the rule can apply for example:

Verb incorporation rule:

- apply when: (i) NP is topicalized
(ii) PP is topicalized
(iii) when topicalization fails to apply

The most serious objection is that the rule is no longer a general rule applicable to a given structural description - it becomes merely a list of environments in which 'ober' replacement is allowed to operate.

The other question one may ask is what happens to 'ober' prior to being replaced by the main verb. Presumably it must be deleted by another obligatory rule.

In many aspects, this verb incorporation rule is similar to the rule of predicate raising, described in Aissen (1974), Radford (1977), p. 117) and Aissen and Perlmutter (1976). Evidence for Predicate Raising in Romance languages, like French, Spanish and Italian, and also in Turkish, has been argued on the basis that clitics are moved with the verb.

Italian.

(39) *Paola gli voleva parlare* (Radford, 1977, p.117)

Paola to+him wanted to speak

Paola wanted to speak to him

French.

(40) *Marie lui a fait manger des figues*

Marie him has made eat figs

Marie has made him eat figs.

There are no such constructions which could be evoked to give support to a verb raising rule in Breton.

In conclusion to this section, it may be said that deriving VPs from underlying Ss by transformations is not very satisfactory. It forces the pruning of S whenever Equi has applied, contrary to the evidence that subjectless sentences are grammatical in Breton. However, pruning is essential because of the syntactic type of the constituent

which may appear under topic. A VP can be topicalized, but not S.

Secondly, the verb incorporation must be stated subject to either a global constraint, preventing the rule from applying everywhere except when topicalisation of VP has taken place, or to a list of all the environments in which it can occur.

5.4 Interaction between the Verb incorporation rule and the perfective auxiliaries

The verb incorporation rule described above runs into more difficulties when we consider how it interacts with the perfective auxiliaries. Anderson (1981) noted that a transformational analysis for deriving VPs became impossible when the sentence carried the perfective aspect.

In Chapter 2 (section 7) I presented and discussed the perfective auxiliary system, and I also argued that '*eus*' should be analysed as a lexical item, and not just as a grammatical formative.

Most verbs take the perfective auxiliary '*eus*', but a few obligatorily require the perfective '*bezan*'. Some of these verbs are listed below.

(41)	<i>kouezhañ</i>	to fall
	<i>mont</i>	to go
	<i>dont</i>	to come
	<i>menel</i>	to stay
	<i>chom</i>	to stay and to live
	<i>sevel</i>	to get up
	<i>arrui</i>	to arrive

The anaphoric 'ober' which surfaces when the VP is topicalized strictly takes the perfective 'eus'. All the verbs listed above can occur under topic. The following sentences are grammatical.

(42) *Chom da gousket en deus graet Fanch*

Stay to sleep have(+perf+pres+3SM) done Fanch

Fanch has stayed in bed

(43) *Kouezhañ diwar ar gador he deus graet*

Fall from the chair have (+perf+pres+3SF) done

She has fallen from the chair

(44) *Dont deus Gwengamp o deus graet*

Come from Gwengamp have (+perf+pres+3P) done

They have come from Gwengamp

The neutral sentence corresponding to the topicalized (42) is (45).

(45) *Chomet eo Fanch da gousket*

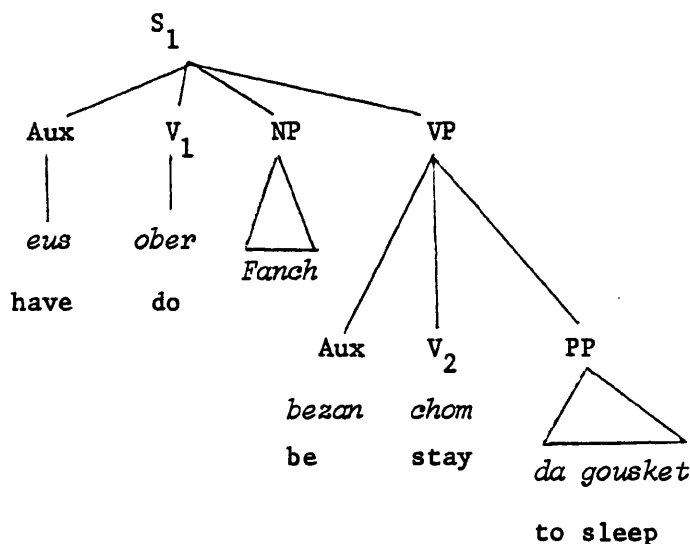
Stayed is Fanch to sleep

Fanch is still asleep

The intermediate structure after the application of Equi is represented in (46) which shows the perfective auxiliary for both verbs 'ober' and 'chom'. If the perfective auxiliaries were not present in the base they would have to be introduced by transformation later in

the derivation, in which case we would have to allow post-transformational lexical insertion by transformation, which is undesirable. Moreover, should auxiliary insertion in the derivation be adopted, problems will still remain as we shall demonstrate below.

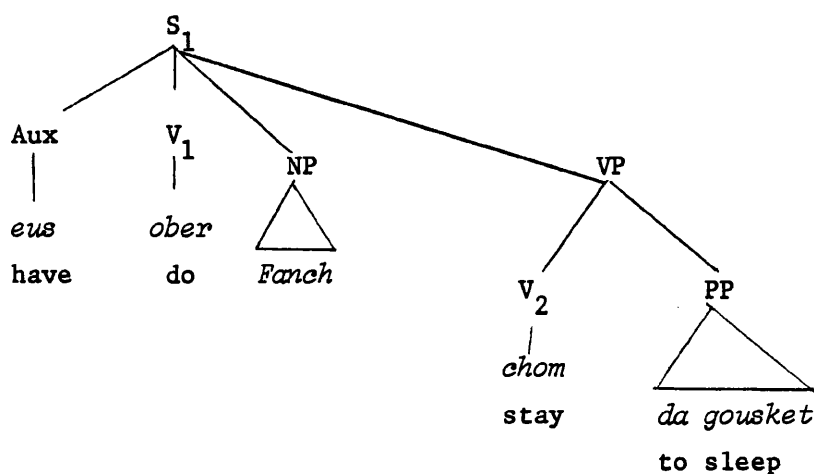
(46)



Topicalized VPs do not take auxiliaries. Therefore, topicalization cannot take place in structure (46).

We may adopt another solution and allow the perfective auxiliary on the higher verb only as in (47).

(47)



VP topicalization will derive the correct structure as '*eus*' is already placed on the left of '*ober*'.

(48) *Chom da gousket en deus graet Fanch*

Stay to sleep have(+perf+pres+3S) done Fanch

Fanch is still asleep

Topicalization is an optional rule. If it does not take place, the verb '*chom*' will be lifted in S_1 in the position occupied by '*ober*' in (47). '*ober*' must be deleted.

The output of the operation is shown in (49) and it is ungrammatical because '*chom*' is one of the verbs subcategorised for perfective '*bezan*'.

(50) the neutral surface structure is also ungrammatical.

(49)* *En deus chomet Fanch da gousket*

Have (+perf+pres+3S) stayed Fanch to sleep

(50)* *Chomet en deus Fanch da gousket*

Stayed have (+perf+pres+3S) Fanch to sleep

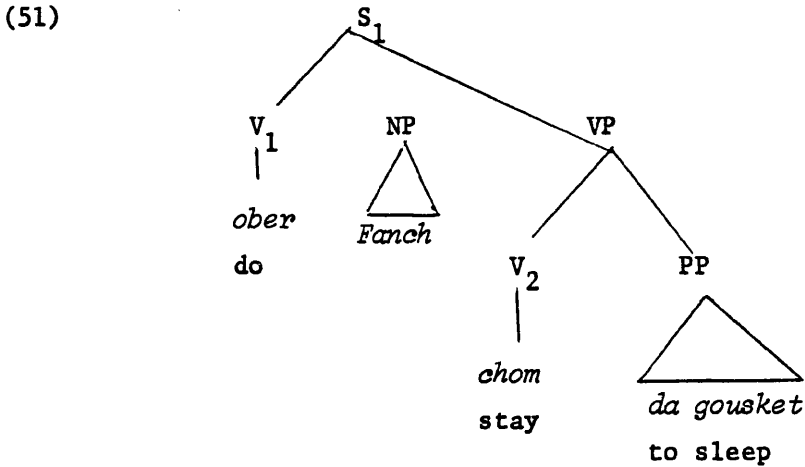
Fanch has stayed to sleep

Alternatively, auxiliaries could be inserted by transformations at the relevant stage of the derivation.

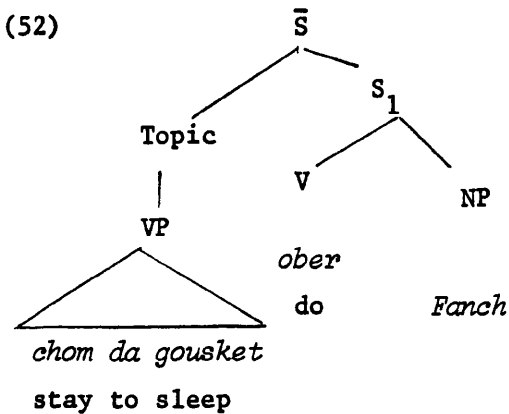
Emonds (1976, p.212; 1978, p.159) argued that such a move was justified because certain auxiliaries such as the English perfective 'have' or the French 'avoir' are simply grammatical formatives as opposed to lexical formatives. In spite of having said that perfective

'eus' in Breton ought to be listed in the lexicon, we may test this proposal in order to see whether it may resolve the problem encountered by Anderson (1981).

Structure (46) is now realised in (51) without ^{any} auxiliary.



VP topicalization applies first followed by insertion of auxiliary 'eus' on V₁ which gives (52) here.



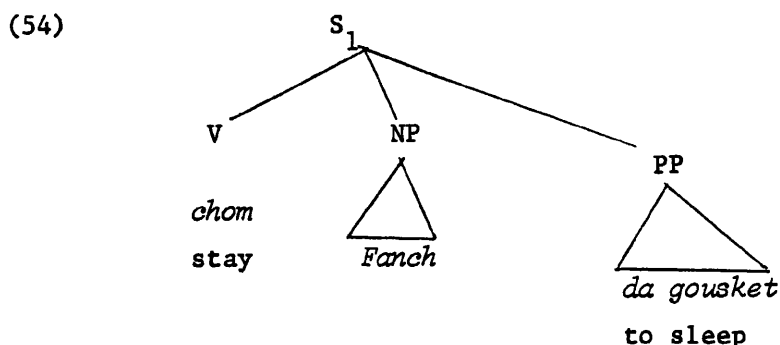
52 goes to 53

(53) *Chom da gousket en deus graet Fanch*

Stay to sleep has done Fanch

Fanch has stayed in bed

Topicalization is an optional rule. If it does not apply, the main verb 'chom' is lifted under V_1 in replacement of 'ober' by the verb incorporation rule. Structure (51) changes to (54).



This structure is incorrect for a root sentence which requires an auxiliary. The perfective aux may now be inserted, to produce the structure prior to main verb shift (55).

(55) *eo chomet Fanch da gousket*

is stayed Fanch to sleep

Has stayed Fanch to sleep

Main verb shift moves the verb around the auxiliary and we obtain the correct root clause structure, Main Verb, Aux, X.

(56) *chomet eo Fanch da gousket*

stayed is Fanch to sleep

Fanch has stayed in bed

The parallel structure to (56) without the perfect aspect is (57), which contains the auxiliary 'ober'. If the perfective auxiliary is inserted by transformation, this 'ober' must also be inserted by the same rule of auxiliary insertion. Thus, instead of placing 'eo' in (56) to the left of 'chom', we place 'ober' there and the derived structure is (57), before the application of main verb shift.

(57) *ober chom Fanch da gousket*

do stay Fanch to sleep

(58) *chom a ra Fanch da gousket*

stay do(+pres) Fanch to sleep

Fanch stays in bed

So far the insertion of auxiliaries by transformation has produced grammatical outputs. It has allowed the insertion of the appropriate auxiliary in (55) and (57).

This rule is an obligatory rule. It has inserted 'eus' or 'ober' in (55) and (57), respectively, since the presence of Aux is obligatory in root clauses. Insertion of Perf 'eus' or 'bezan' also takes place in embedded clauses, but auxiliary 'ober' never occurs in embedded positions (59). However, it is not clear how it would be possible to block insertion of 'ober' in such contexts, since in root clauses either 'eus' or 'ober' must be present.

(59) * *Lavaret he deus Anna a ra chom Fanch da gousket*

Said has(+perf+pres+3SF) Anna do(es) stay Fanch to sleep

No problem of that sort would arise if AUX was a component of the base rules, and optional as shown by the brackets around it ^{as in.} (60).

(60) $S \rightarrow (AUX) \quad V \quad NP \quad (NP) \quad (PP)$

Main verb shift applies to root clauses only whenever the structural description is met.

(61) SD AUX V X
 1 2 3 \Rightarrow 2 1 3

Now only one rule will be needed - a rule deleting Auxiliary '*ober*' in the embedded clauses and negative and topicalized sentences. At least we avoid the questionable tactic of inserting morphological material by transformation and deleting it later, to exclude unwanted results.

The rule of auxiliary insertion cannot guarantee the correct outputs in a transformational analysis where VPs are derived by transformation from an underlying S embedded under '*ober*'. The reason is that auxiliary insertion would have to be made an obligatory rule, inserting either perfective '*eus*' or auxiliary '*ober*'. It can generate the correct output in root clauses, but it would also generate unwanted surface realizations containing '*ober*' in embedded clauses. Therefore this is an extra argument against deriving VPs by transformations.

In general, then, the transformational account is not satisfactory. The S node dominating the clause embedded under '*ober*' must be pruned in order to obtain the correct type of constituent. There is no reason to think that such a move can be justified in Breton, because the language shows instances of subjectless sentences, and sentences do not behave like VPs, they do not topicalize. We want to maintain that S and VP are not identical categories.

Secondly, the transformational derivation of VP makes it impossible to determine the choice of the correct perfective auxiliary for the main verb, in the cases where topicalization fails to apply. On one hand, if the perfective is present in the base with the verb '*ober*', it must be '*eus*'; then the verb incorporation rule may lift the main verb in place of '*ober*', a verb which requires '*bezan*'. The result is ungrammatical (54, 55).

On the other hand, an auxiliary insertion rule would have to allow '*ober*' as well as '*eus*' to be inserted in every clause, which will also produce ungrammaticality.

If, on the other hand, we consider the possibility that VPs are generated under topic by the base rules, then the whole analysis will become clearer. There will then be no need to prune S nodes and no need to insert auxiliaries which must be deleted later in the derivation.

5.5 Topicalization of NP and resumptive pronouns

We have come to the conclusion that deriving topicalized VPs in the base could provide an improved alternative to using transformations. We shall now turn to examining whether the same approach could be envisaged for other topicalized constituents, the NPs in particular.

NP topicalization and resumptive pronouns

Anderson and Chung (1977) and King (1980) have analysed NP topicalization as a movement process which may result in the presence of a resumptive pronoun in the position occupied by the topicalized NP.

The pronoun surfaces obligatorily when the fronted NP is part of a PP. In this case the preposition inflects for the same person, number

and gender as the moved NP. In (62) the NP '*ar c'hlasker-bara*' is singular and masculine. The preposition '*gant*' is inflected for third person singular masculine. In (63) the topicalized NP is feminine '*ma c'hoar*', and '*gant*' inflects for third person singular and feminine.

(62) *Ar c'hlasker-bara en deus gantañ nemet botoù toull*

The tramp has with+3SM only shoes holed

The tramp has only shoes with holes in them.

(63) *Ma c'hoar he deus ganti nemet dilhad cheuc'h*

My sister has with+3SF only clothes smart

My sister wears only smart clothes

When the topicalized NP is a possessor, a pronoun appears on the left of the head NP (65).

(64) *Gwerzhet eo* *ti Yann*
NP

sold is house Yann

Yann's house is sold

(65) *Yann eo gwerzhet e di*

Yann is sold his house

Yann's house is sold

A resumptive pronoun may also surface when the object NP has been topicalized.

- (66) *Al lagayoued*⁽²⁾ *a drapemp anezho neuze du-se,*
 caught+1P them then over-there

tu Poretien

near Port-Etienne (Denez, 1980, p.80)

Then we caught the "laqayoued" over there, near Port Etienne

- (67) *An nor-se a vo red prennañ anezhi*
The door+demonst. be+fut necessary shut+inf it(+3SF)

(Gros, 1974, p.85)

The door must be shut

Finally, no resumptive pronoun is present when the subject NP is topicalized.

However, the presence of pronouns, whether they take the form of a suffix (62, 63) or a clitic (65), is not exclusively linked with topicalization.

Furthermore, contrary to the claim by Anderson and Chung (1977) who stated that subject pronouns "never appear in surface structure except where they have been fronted by topicalization" (p.15), a subject pronoun may appear in non-topicalized structures in (68), (69) and (70).

- (68) Pa oan me bihañ e oa frizet ma blev

When was+1S is little was curled my hair

I had curly hair when I was small

(2) Lagouya: *Galeus melastomus* (Denez, 1980, p.79).

(69) *Pa savo hi* (Gros, 1974, p.87)

When get+fut+3S she

When she gets up

(70) *Ha int-i mistri, ne vefent ket evit*

And are+3P they masters, neg were+3P neg for
hor c'hastizan

us punish (Kervella, 1976, p.415)

Although they were the masters, they could not punish us.

Strong pronouns are also to be found in PPs formed by an inflected preposition and a pronoun which has not been extracted by topicalization.

(71) *Gantan en e yelo ar maout* (Trepos, 1968, p.95)

With+3SM he go+fut the ram

He will get the ram.

(72) *N'em eus ket a urzh da vouj ac'harm ganit te*

Neg have+1S neg of right to move from here with+2S you

(Gros, 1970a, p.185)

You do not allow me to go anywhere.

Possessive constructions can also be made more contrastive or emphatic by maintaining the pronoun on the right of the head.

- (73) *E dad en n'eo ket marv c'hoazh* (Gros, 1974, p.87)

His father he neg is neg dead yet

His father has not yet died.

- (74) *Al lizher a zo graet en o anv int* (Gros, 1974, p.88)

The letter is made in their name they

The contract of tenure is in their names.

The degree of emphasis can be increased by adding pronominal forms as in the following examples taken from Kervella (1976).

- (75) *ya hennzh eo va hini* (my one)
va hi-ni me (my one me)
va hi-ni din me
my one to me

Yes that one is mine

We remark that inflection of verbs and prepositions are related to the presence of a pronoun and not of a full NP.

(5) This expression is translated into French as "son pere à lui" by French speakers in Brittany and it is regarded as a Bretonism.

(76a) *Gantañ eñ e yelo ar maout*
With him go (+fut) the ram
He will get the ram

(76b) *Gant Lom e yelo ar maout*
With Lom go (+fut) the ram
Lom will get the ram

(77a) *Biken ne debrfont int ar bern krampouzh-se*
Never neg eat+fut+3P they the pile pancakes demonstr.

They will never eat that pile of pancakes.

(77b) *Biken ne debro ar vugale ar bern krampouzh-se*
Never neg eat+fut the children the pile pancakes demonstr.

The children will never eat that pile of pancakes.

In other words, the presence of pronouns is not linked to the extraction of a noun phrase from its position inside the clause. Strong pronouns are required for purposes of emphasis or contrast in non-topicalized structures, and it is the pronominal NP which provides the condition under which the rule of agreement takes place.

The copying rule suggested by Anderson and Chung⁽⁶⁾ (1977, p.13) would derive pronominal forms in the position vacated by NP movement.

(6) In a more recent article, Anderson (1981) has proposed to base generate all the topicalized NP. Consequently the pronouns will also be generated by the Phrase Structure rules.

The derivation of pronouns has been widely discussed in the literature. Anaphoric pronouns have originally been distinguished from deitic pronouns by deriving the former by a pronominalization rule, and the latter in the base (Lees and Klima, 1963). The limitations of the pronominalization rule have been emphasised by many authors. Dougherty (1969) stressed that a pronoun with an anaphoric reading has also a non-anaphoric reading, and that it is left to the interpretive rule to select the appropriate interpretation. Other workers, including Bach (1970), Bresnan (1970), Kayne (1971; 1975, pp. 258-61) showed the problems encountered in deriving anaphoric elements including anaphoric epithets, such as the French 'on', which may have a plural antecedent, by transformation.

(78) *Nous on s'en va de bonne heure*

We go early

Lasnik (1976) also dismissed pronominalization and proposed that all pronouns should be generated in the base. In the analysis he proposed, a rule of no coreference marks two NPs as not being co-referential under specific syntactic configurations.

If NP_1 precedes and commands, NP_2 , and NP_2 is not a pronoun, then NP_1 and NP_2 are not coreferential (Lasnik, 1976, p.6).

Given the facts listed below there is no reason to maintain a pronominalization rule for Breton.

(1) Anaphoric pronouns occur in the same positions as full NPs and deitic pronouns.

(2) The same pronominal form may have an anaphoric or a non-anaphoric reading as indicated by the two indices.

- (79) $\begin{matrix} \text{[Ar} & \text{paotr} & \text{bihan]} & \text{[a} & \text{brenas} & \text{ur} & \text{c'hoariell} & \text{dezhan]} \\ \text{NP}_i & & & & & & & \begin{matrix} i \\ j \end{matrix} \end{matrix}$

The boy little bought a toy to himself
to him

The little boy bought a toy for himself
him

What is needed in the grammar is a system which distinguishes between the anaphoric and the non-anaphoric reading of the pronominal form.

Cooper (1979, p.63) proposed that pronouns should be treated as definite descriptions containing a free variable over properties. The pronoun can be interpreted as referring freely to some entity or individual in the universe of discourse, or it may be bound within the sentence.

Other pronouns cannot refer to definite descriptions and must be bound in the context; Cooper (1979, p.78). This is the pronoun of laziness "it" which refers to the NP "his paycheck" in the sentence (80).

- (80) The man who gave his paycheck to his wife was wiser than the
man who gave it to his mistress (example 47, p.77 in Cooper, 1979).

Reinhart (1980) crucially distinguished between a bound variable interpretation of the pronoun, where the pronoun has an antecedent within the sentence, and an interpretation of discourse anaphora. We shall see how this distinction is required in the context of interpreting the pronominal form left in the prepositional phrase and the complex noun-phrase when the full NP is topicalized. The same principle applies in

the cases where the subject or the object NPs have been topicalized. The proform must be bound by the constituent under topic.

5.6 Conclusion

The VP constituent which has been shown to exist in Breton cannot be derived in a satisfactory way from an underlying S. Deriving the VP from the S embedded under anaphoric '*ober*' can be maintained only if the S node is replaced by VP. There is no evidence elsewhere in the language to justify a rule of S-pruning. On the contrary, a subjectless sentence is perfectly grammatical.

In addition, the derivation of VP from the embedded S, and the subsequent raising of the main verb in the position occupied by '*ober*' interacts closely with the presence of the perfective auxiliary and the subcategorization restrictions which operate between the verb and its auxiliary. None of these difficulties would be encountered if the VP were generated under topic by the base-rules.

Moreover, there is no independent evidence that the topicalized NPs should be extracted by a movement rule from their position inside the clause. The presence of a pronoun in the NP position is not uniquely linked to topicalization. In all situations involving a pronominal form, topicalization is determined by the anaphoric relationship holding between the pronominal form and its topicalized antecedent. This is determined by the interpretive rule of pronouns and their anaphoric interpretation in a given context (Reinhart, 1980; 1981, pp. 605-35).

CHAPTER VI

SHOULD BRETON BE REGARDED AS A SVO LANGUAGE?

6.0 Presentation

In this chapter I shall be looking into another movement analysis for topicalization: that of Emonds (1979). Like Anderson & Chung (1977) he takes into account only one verb '*ober*', the main verb like anaphoric '*ober*' (see Chapter 3.) and he also treats main verb fronting around the auxiliary as topicalization.

Emonds' analysis differs from those of Anderson & Chung (1977) and Wojcik (1976 b). He asserts that the underlying order of constituents is SVO (Emonds, 1979, 1980). VP is a base constituent different from S. Therefore '*ober*' is no longer a higher verb embedding the main verb and its clause. Equi or Subject Raising which were used to derive VP from S in Anderson & Chung (1977) and Wojcik (1976 b), respectively, are dispensed with, thus simplifying the grammar according to Emonds.

Emonds' proposed analysis for Breton includes three main points. Firstly, the base order is SVO; secondly, topics are derived by transformations; and thirdly, only anaphoric '*ober*' exists in the grammar. As SVO is the base order, a reordering rule has to be used to ensure the correct VSO surface order inside S of topicalized structures and complement clauses.

The set of rules proposed by Emonds for Breton, topicalisation and verb fronting around the subject NP are within the spirit of his grammatical theory presented in 1976.

I shall briefly outline Emonds' linguistic theory and then examine the results of his analysis for Breton. This will include the topicalization rule and the verb fronting rule, which is different from that proposed by Wojcik (1976b). Then we shall see how the neutral declarative

affirmative root clauses and negatives can be derived in this analysis.

The consequences of inserting anaphoric '*ober*' by transformation will also be examined. This we shall see, adds further weight to the argument that topics ought to be generated in the base and not transformationally derived.

A section will be devoted to evaluating the superiority of taking SVO as the base order over the alternative VSO, as claimed by Emonds.

6.1 Emonds' Grammatical Theory

The main objective developed in this grammatical hypothesis is to restrict the transformational component of the grammar. To a lesser extent, it also stresses the need to restrict the base rules; in order to define phrasal categories as well as grammatical notions such as 'subject'. The subject NP is the least embedded NP (Chomsky, 1965, pp. 68-74). Emonds also claimed that it is preferable that the subject NP be placed to the left of VP, (Emonds, 1976, p.18; 1979 and 1980).

One important outcome of these restrictions on the base rules is that in languages without a VP, the subject may not be given a structural or configurational definition. This would be the case of VSO languages. Emonds (1979, p.7) has claimed that these VSO languages are probably SVO in the base and he has illustrated his point by reanalysing Breton as SVO.

Breton has a VP constituent different from S, although it is placed outside S, in the topic position, which is not accessible to tensed S. Having already shown the inadequacies of deriving VP from an underlying S via Equi, Emonds' view (1979, pp. 58-88) that there exists in Breton a

VP constituent different from S and generated by the PS rules, ought to be taken into consideration.

The second aspect of Emonds' grammar has been treated in a more comprehensive way; it concerns the restrictions on grammatical transformations. The transformational component is restricted to three types of rules:

- (a) structure preserving rules
- (b) root transformations
- (c) local transformations (Emonds, 1976, Chapter I).

The passive transformation in English is an illustration of a structure preserving rule. The agent NP is postposed into the 'by' phrase. Prepositional phrases are generated by PS rules. The object NP is preposed under the node vacated by the postposing rule.

Root transformations may or may not be structure preserving. They move, copy or insert a node C into a position immediately dominated by a root S. There are three types of root transformations:

- (a) left and right dislocation rules
- (b) COMP substitution rules which front a constituent without inducing comma intonations, and
- (c) inversion rules which interchange adjacent constituents, i.e., subject-auxiliary inversion in English; they depend on conditions external to the two interchanged nodes (Emonds, 1976, p.42).

The local transformations are not structure preserving. They apply within the clause, reordering adjacent constituents, one of which must not be dominated by a phrasal node. The rule must be specified without a variable (p.4). Only the second and the third types are relevant here.

6.2 The Derivation of Topicalized Structures

Within the framework now under discussion, Breton has the following PS rules.

RULE I. $\bar{S} \rightarrow \text{COMP } S$

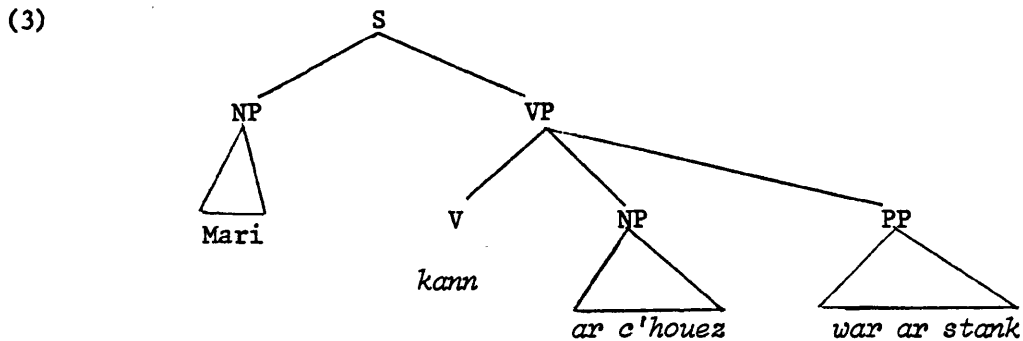
(1) $S \rightarrow \text{NP } \text{VP}$

The underlying structure for (2) is represented in the PM (3).

(2) *Kannan a ra Mari ar c'houez war ar stank*

Wash do Mari the washing on the pond

Mary does the washing at the pond.



The PP is attached to VP because ^{the}whole constituent including PP may be fronted as well as the constituent formed by the main verb and its direct object (see Chapter 4, section 231)

(4) *Kannan ar c'houez war ar stank a ra Mari*

Wash the washing on the pond do Mari

Mary does the washing at the pond

The main verb '*kannañ*' (to wash) is not preceded by '*ober*'. In this analysis '*ober*' arises as a result of VP topicalization. The verbal form inserted by the PS is the stem form '*kann*' and not the infinitive '*kannañ*'. The reason is that in Emonds (1976 and 1978) general theory auxiliaries are inserted by transformations. The inflected form of the main verb is directly linked to the presence or absence of an auxiliary. If there is no auxiliary the main verb will be inflected for tense as in (9), (10) and (11). When the perfective (5) or passive (6) auxiliaries are present, the main verb takes the past participle suffix '*et*'.

(5) *Kannet he deus Mari ar c'houez*

Washed has Mary the washing

Mary has done the washing

(6) *Kannet eo ar c'houez gant Mari*

Washed is the washing by Mary

The washing is done by Mary

In (2) the auxiliary verb is '*ober*' and the main verb takes the INF suffix. The final form of the main verb can only be determined after the rule inserting AUX has taken place.

The verbal particle is also absent. In the Chapter 2 we saw that the realisation of the particle as '*a*' or '*e*' is dependent on the type of constituent preceding the verb: '*a*' whenever a NP or an infinitive verb is to the left of the verb, and '*e*' elsewhere.

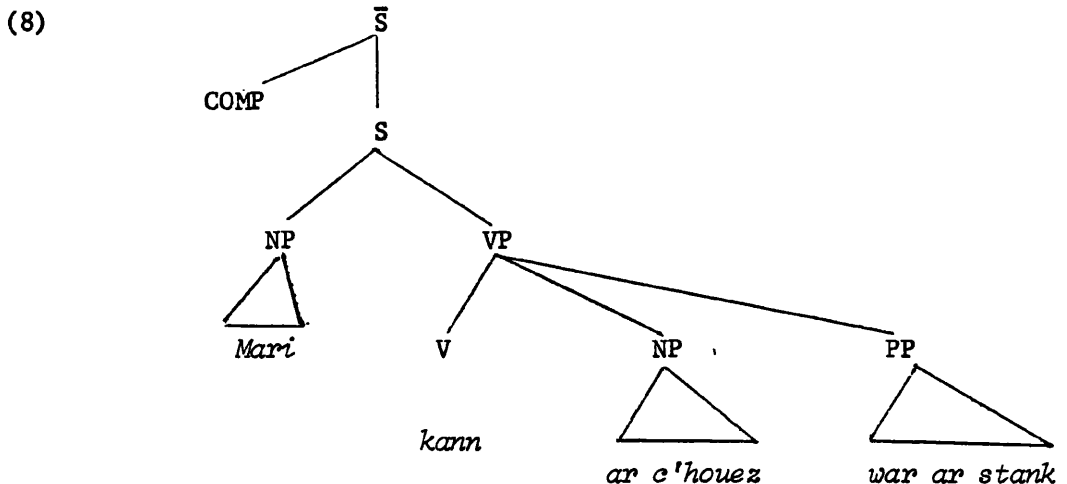
In a structure like (3), in which the constituent preceding the verb is a NP, the particle must be 'a', and it would have to change to 'e' after the two movement rules of topicalization and verb fronting have been applied, fronting a PP in the topic position and reordering the main verb in the first place inside S (see example (7)).

(7) *War ar stank e kann Mari ar c'houez*

On the pond part wash Mary the washing

Mary does the washing at the pond

It seems that in this framework, it is best to insert the correct verbal particle after the application of movement rules (as in King, 1980). Topicalization is a major transformational rule and by definition applies before local rules. The results of topicalization on (3) repeated here as (8), will give the derived structures (9), (10), (11), (12).



Topicalization of Subject NP

(9) [Mari [..... [kann ar c'houez [war ar stank]]]]
 S S VP PP
 Mari wash(pres) the washing on the pond

(10) Topicalisation of object NP

\bar{S}	\bar{S}	S	VP	PP
$[\bar{a}r \ c'h'ouez$	$[Mari$	$[kann$	$....$	$[war \ ar \ stank]]]]$
the washing	Mari	wash(pres)		on the pond

(11) Topicalisation of PP

\bar{S}	\bar{S}	S	VP
$[war \ ar \ stank$	$[Mari$	$[kann$	$ar \ c'h'ouez \]]]$
on the pond	Mari	wash(+pres)	the washing

(12) Topicalization of VP

\bar{S}	S	VP
$[kann \ ar \ c'h'ouez \ war \ ar \ stank$	$[Mari$	$[ober \]]]]$
wash the washing on the pond	Mari	do

'ober' has been inserted in replacement of the preposed VP. The verb in the fronted VP is still in the stem form and the infinitive suffix will have to be added by a later morphological rule.

Topicalization creates intermediate structures which require a reordering rule in order to be grammatical except in (9). However, topicalization of the subject in (9) leaves the string unchanged. Since this is a COMP substitution rule which does not induce comma intonation, it is impossible to recognise the topicalized structure (9) from the non-topicalized (8). The rule applies vacuously without a change of structure.

As in Emonds (1979, note 9) a local rule is necessary to ensure the correct surface order of constituents in (10), (11) and (12). It will prepose the verb around the subject NP. It applies in root and embedded clauses. Emonds has labelled it "the everywhere obligatory rule".

The structural description and structural change for this rule may be represented by Rule II.

RULE II NP V

1 2 \Longrightarrow 2 1 \emptyset

In (9), the subject NP is no longer inside S. The rule cannot apply because (9) does not meet the structural description. (10), (11) and (12) become (13), (14) and (15) respectively.

(13) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ar} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ c'houez } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{kann Mari} \\ S \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{war ar stank} \\ PP \end{array} \right]]$
 the washing wash Mari on the pond

(14) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{war ar stank} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{kann Mari ar c'houez} \\ S \end{array} \right]]$

(15) $\left[\text{kann ar c'houez } \left[\text{ober Mari war ar stank} \right] \right]$
 Wash the washing do Mari on the pond

The verbal particle could be inserted now; 'a' in (13), (15) and in (9); 'e' in (14). The tense realisation rule could apply too.

In an analysis which introduces anaphoric 'ober' by transformation, insertion of auxiliaries must also be done by transformations, and it must be ordered after topicalization. The reason is as noted by Anderson (1981) and discussed earlier. 'ober' strictly requires the perfective 'eus' whereas some other verbs which may appear in topic take the perfective 'bezañ' (to be) as we can judge from the contrast between

(16) and (17). (16) is a neutral affirmative independent clause, containing the verb 'chom' (to stay) and the perfective auxiliary 'bezãñ' (to be) in the present tense from 'eo'. (17) is the topicalized version with VP in the first position, and the anaphoric 'ober' with perfective 'eus' inside S.

(16) *Chomet eo Yann da gousket*

Stayed is Yann to sleep

Yann has stayed in bed

(17) [*Chom da gousket*] [*en deus graet Yann*]
S

Stay to sleep has done Yann

Yann has stayed in bed

Topicalization seems unjustified in (9). However, (13), (14) and (15) can be derived in Emonds' analysis.

6.3 The Derivation of the Neutral Positive Root Clause

It has been demonstrated earlier (Chapter 3) that structures like (2) repeated here as (18) are not topicalized.

(18) *Kannan a ra Mari ar c'houez war ar stank*

Wash do Mari the washing on the pond

Mary does the washing on the pond

This main verb fronting does not apply in embedded clauses (Chapter 3). It is also mutually exclusive with topicalization, thus fulfilling two criteria for root transformation (conditions (b) and (c), Section 6.2). (19) and (20), which contain both a topic and a preposed main verb inside S, are ungrammatical.

- (19) **Yann lenn a ra al levr*
Yann read(inf) does the book

- (20) **Yann lennet en deus al levr*⁽¹⁾
Yann read(past part) has the book

This main verb shifting is also excluded in negatives. The rule applies only when no constituent appears to the left of the verb, apparently securing the tensed element in second position.

- (21) **Lenn ne ra ket Yann al levr*
Read neg do(+pres) neg Yann the book

The conditions for the application of this main verb shift are external to the two constituents directly involved; the main verb and the auxiliary. This is another characteristic of this type of root transformation,

(1) This sentence is acceptable only if a pause is marked after the first constituent either by comma or intonation, in which case they become left dislocated structures.

(Emonds, 1976, p.42). The non-finite verb is sentence initial in non-topicalised structures. In other words, the rule applies when topicalisation fails to do so. Secondly, the rule does not apply in negatives either. Thus the main verb is attracted to that initial position in those structures in which no other constituent fills such a position.

Rule of main verb shift.

As we already know (Chapter 3, section 2 2), this rule requires the obligatory presence of an auxiliary: passive '*bezañ*' (22a), perfective '*eus*' (22b) or the auxiliary '*ober*' (22c).

(22a) *Debret eo*

Eaten is [+passive]

It is eaten

(22b) *Debret en deus*

Eaten has+3SM [perfective]

He has eaten

(22c) *Debrin a ra*

Eat do+3S

He/she eats

In the case of VP topicalization and anaphoric '*ober*' insertion discussed above, auxiliaries could not be introduced in the derivation before topicalization. Here, however, the auxiliary must be placed before the rule applies.

This leads to a paradoxical situation where two rules of the same type (root transformation) interact differently with the third rule of auxiliary insertion. This will be discussed later. For the moment I shall carry the analysis through by applying auxiliary insertion.

RULE III. Auxiliary insertion.

X	AUX	V	Y
1		3	4
1	<i>eus</i>	3	4
	<i>eo</i>		
	<i>ober</i>		

Application of Rule III on the phrase marker (8) gives the structure (23) with perfective '*eus*' and (24) with '*ober*'.

(23) [*Mari* [*eus kann ar c'houez war ar stank*]]
 S VP
 Mari have wash the washing on the pond

(24) [*Mari* [*ober kann ar c'houez war ar stank*]]
 S
 Mari do wash the washing on the pond

Past participle and infinitive formation also take place now before the main verb is shifted to the front, and thus not in the proper context created by topicalization (p. 207)

(25) *Mari he deus karnet ar c'houez war ar stank*
 Mari has washed the washing on the pond
 (+ p.part)

(26) *Mari ober kannan ar c'houez war ar stank*

Mari do wash the washing on the pond
(+inf)

Mary does the washing at the pond

Main verb shift can move the non-finite verb around its auxiliary. In the framework under discussion in this chapter, the main verb must be placed to the left of the subject NP in order to preserve the structural description of the local rule which applies next. It is the "everywhere obligatory verb fronting rule" which is necessary to obtain the correct surface order: VSO. By definition, local rules apply to adjacent constituents.

The rule of main verb shift may be formulated as in Rule IV.

RULE IV. Main verb shift.

	NP	AUX	V	Y
	1	2	3	4
				\Rightarrow
3	1	2	\emptyset	4

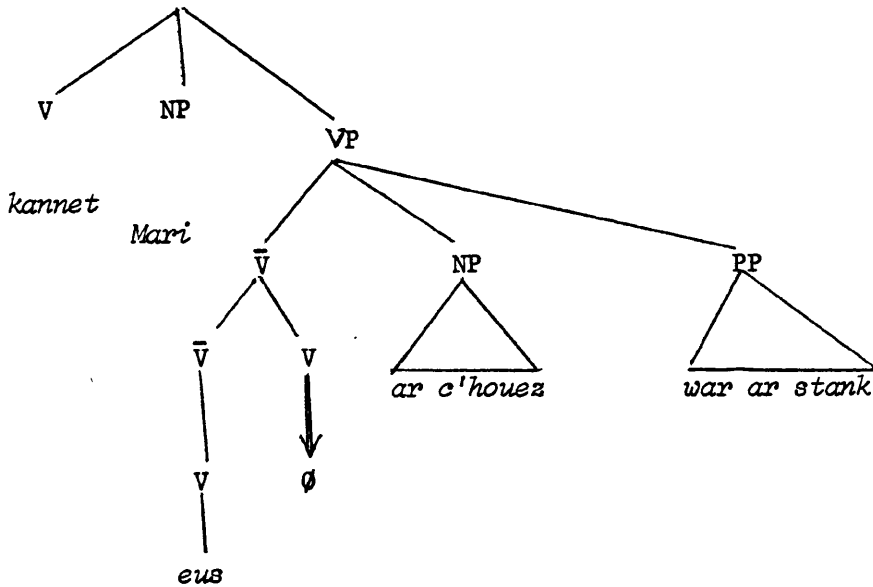
The rule never applies to negatives, thus there must be a condition that it applies to affirmatives only. Stating the NP in the structural description excludes the possibility of the rule applying to

[Neg NP AUX V Y]

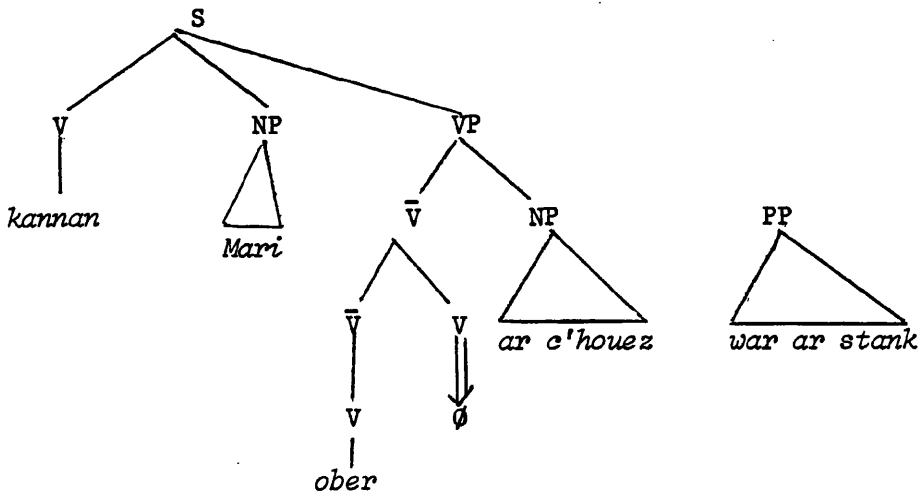
However, the structure which results from the rule shows that two constituents are now placed to the left of the tensed verb inside S. There is no evidence that this may happen in the language and the whole operation seems very artificial. The application of Rule IV to (25)

and (26) generates (27) and (28). The configuration in which VP expands in \bar{V} and V was used by Emonds (1978) where he argued for the insertion of AUX.

(27)

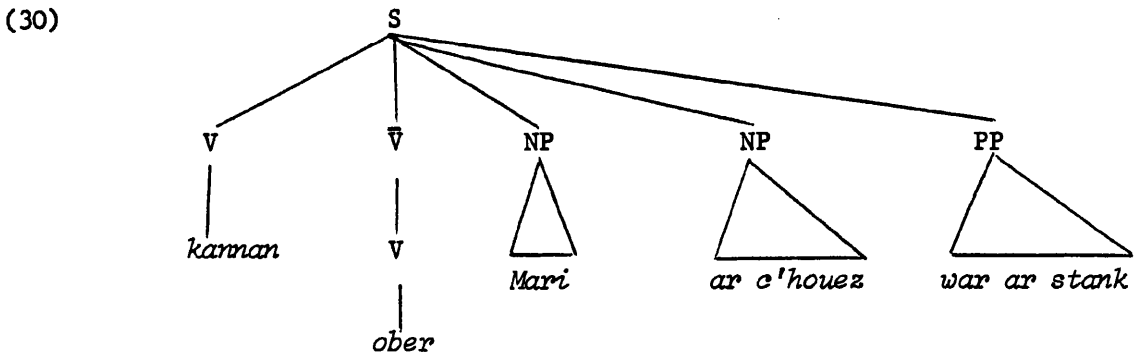
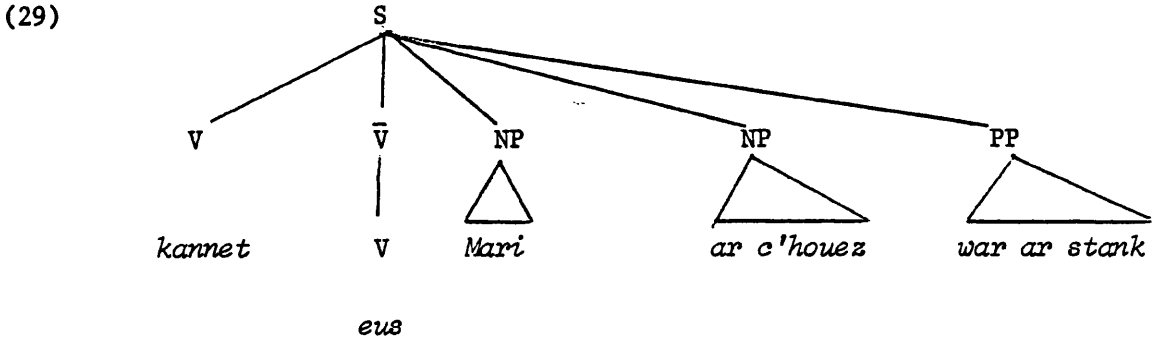


(28)



(2) The alternative to shifting the whole verbal constituent (AUX + V) is not possible in this analysis, because it would be identical to the local obligatory verb fronting rule, which applies after the major root transformation.

The obligatory local rule moving the tensed verb around the subject applies now to (27) and (28), giving (29) and (30), respectively.



(29) and (30) have undergone pruning of VP node, as the verb has been removed.

Particle insertion could now take place for (30). Perfective 'eus' has no verbal particle in literary Breton (see Chapter 2). The final outputs are (31) and (32), which also show the finite forms of the verbs.

(31) *Kannet he deus Mari ar c'houez war ar stank*

Washed has Mari the washing on the pond

Mary has done the washing at the pond

(32) *Kannan a ra Mari ar c'houez war ar stank*

Wash do Mari the washing on the pond

Mary does the washing at the pond

The presence of the subject NP on the left of the auxiliary verb in (27) and (28) means that two rules have been necessary to derive (29) and (30). Although the two rules are different in nature, one is a root transformation, the other a local rule. They have been used to perform a similar operation, moving a verbal constituent to the left.

(a) Shifting of the main verb;

(b) shifting the auxiliary verb around the subject.

The fact that the subject NP precedes the verb also contributes to the generation of structures containing two constituents to the left of the verb inside S, which are alien to the language.

6.4 Derivation of Negatives: Topicalized and Non-topicalized Structures

Contrary to what Emonds (1979) wrote (footnote 7, p. 5.25), topicalization applies to negatives and 'ne' is not a complementizer (Chapter 2, section 5). From the following examples, taken from Gros (1970) and (1974) we observe that any constituent may be fronted in negatives.

(33) *Ger ebet n'am eus da lavarout dezho*

Word at all neg have(+pres+1S) to say to them (Gros, 1974, p.75)

I had nothing to tell them

- (34) *Ar yer n'eus toull stouvet ebet outo* (Gros, 1970_a p.214)

The hen neg is hole blocked at all against them

It is impossible to keep the hens in

- (35) *Bale ne gredan ket e rafe ken* (Gros, 1974, p.73)

Walk neg believe+1S neg do+cond+3S never

I do not think that he/she will ever walk

These topicalized sentences are derived from a structure similar to (36), which are possible negative versions of (3), as we are still working from a SVO base structure.

- (36) [_S Neg Mari [_{VP} kann ket ar c'houez war ar stank]]
 Mari wash neg the washing on the pond

- (37) [_S Mari [_{VP} neg kann ket ar c'houez war ar stank]]
 Mari neg wash neg the washing on the pond.

In the Chapter 2, it was argued that neg, although placed immediately to the left of tensed V is not a clitic, but a constituent attached to S. The most natural position for neg is as in (37). In (36) a full NP intervenes between neg and the verb. Only pronominal clitics may appear between the two.

It might be argued that neg is introduced by a rule of negative placement which introduces 'ne' after the application of the local rule preposing the verb.

- (38) $\begin{matrix} \text{S} & & \text{VP} \\ \text{[Mari]} & & \text{[kann ar c'houez]} \end{matrix}$
 Mari wash the washing

Verb fronting.

- (39) $\text{[kann Mari ar c'houez]}$

Neg placement.

- (40) $\text{[ne gann ket Mari ar c'houez]}$

The presence of neg will block the main verb auxiliary shift which takes place in positive root clauses.

However, this is not a plausible solution because when topicalization of a subject applies in a negative in contrast to a positive sentence, the verb is inflected.

- (41) *Ar vugale a c'hoari er ger*
 The children play at+the home

The children play at home

- (42) *Ar vugale ne c'hoariont ket er ger*
 The children neg play+pres+3P neg at+the home

The children do not play at home

Therefore, neg placement must take place before topicalization.

However, if we want to preserve the structural description for the local verb fronting rule, neg cannot be placed between the verb and the subject. They would no longer be adjacent. It is only if (36) is adopted that topicalization and verb fronting can derive all topicalized negative

structures in the same way as affirmatives. It is briefly illustrated in (43) and (44).

- (43) [war ar stank [neg Mari kann ket ar c'houez]]
 S
on the pond neg Mari wash(+pres)neg the washing

- (44) [war ar stank [neg kann ket Mari ar c'houez]]
on the pond neg wash(+pres) neg Mari the washing

Non-topicalized negatives are derived by verb fronting on the base structure (35) which becomes (45).

- (45) *Ne kann ket Mari ar c'houez war ar stank*
neg wash(+pres)neg Mari the washing on the pond

The final string after the mutation rule is (46).

- (46) *Ne gann ket Mari ar c'houez war ar stank.*

The analysis defended by Emonds (1979) has been carried through and now it has to be evaluated in two aspects; one is the derivation of topics via a movement rule; the other the choice of SVO as the base word order for Breton. In the following discussion we shall also see that the insertion of auxiliaries by transformation is not justified in Breton.

6.5 Critique of Movement Topicalisation Rule

The insertion of anaphoric '*ober*' with VP topicalisation, and the main verb shift interact with auxiliary insertion in such a way that the three rules have to be strictly ordered.

- (1) Topicalisation
- (2) AUX insertion
- (3) Main verb shift

Strict ordering of the rules should not interfere with their application which should only be determined by the structural description (Pullum, 1976). Topicalisation is optional, but main verb shift is obligatory if topicalisation fails to apply, and AUX insertion is also obligatory. The analysis would be improved if topics were generated by the PS rules. Inserting topics in the base, in this particular analysis, implies that topic VPs and anaphoric '*ober*' will also be generated by the base rules. The intermediate structures (10), (11) and (12) will be the output of PS rules.

When anaphoric '*ober*' is inserted in the base it is no longer necessary to insert auxiliaries by transformations. The rule would now be the first transformational rule to take place in the derivation, before main verb shift. There is no evidence in favour of the transformational insertion rule. Moreover, the perfective '*eus*' ought to be listed in the lexicon. Not only does it contribute to ^{the} meaning of the whole sentence, but the exceptional form of its person agreement rule must also be listed in the lexicon; Chapter 2, section 7. If '*eus*' has a lexical entry, there is no objection to having it introduced by PS rules. This also applies to the other auxiliaries, passive '*bezan*' and auxiliary '*ober*'.

The first conclusion to be drawn from Emonds' proposed analysis for Breton is that topics ought to be generated in the base. The grammar is simplified; there is no need to maintain a strict ordering of transformations, no more than inserting auxiliaries by transformational rules.

One objective of Emonds' paper was to prove that opting for a SVO base order instead of VSO simplified the analysis of the Breton language. But, as we have seen, a closer observation of the structure of the language reveals a number of contradictions directly related to the choice of base order.

The most serious evidence that a VP constituent exists in Breton comes from the presence of the verb phrase in topic position. The output of the PS rules in Emonds is:

$$S \longrightarrow NP \quad VP.$$

The correct surface order must be derived via the "everywhere obligatory local rule" which shifts the main verb around its subject.

The presence of the subject NP to the left of the verb leads to configurations which are not corroborated by factual evidence. After the application of main verb shift (rule IV), two constituents are placed to the left of the verb inside the clause, but in reality only one constituent, either a non-finite verb in affirmative root clauses or the negative particle 'ne' in all clauses, are found before the verb.

Secondly, the requirement of the structural description of the local rule, specifying that the two constituents involved must be adjacent, force the analyst to place the negative marker to the left of the subject NP (example (36)). No sentence of Breton has such a negation form. 'Ne' must always be located immediately to the left of the tensed

verb. Only clitic pronouns can intervene between neg and the verb.

The last argument concerns topicalization of the subject NP. The rule can hardly be sustained if SVO is the base order; the speaker has no clue by which to distinguish a topicalized structure from the base structure (Section 3). The rule applies vacuously without showing any change of linear ordering. However, a clear contrast exists when the base order is VSO, and the subject NP is placed to the right of the verb.

6.6 Conclusion

Maintaining a SVO base order forces us to use transformations deriving structures which are alien to the grammar of Breton and there is no independent evidence that they exist in the language.

On the contrary, VSO structures are present in embedded clauses, negatives and in topicalized sentences. The main verb shift of the affirmative root clause is easily obtained by one transformation, and the derived order of the constituents is still verb initial, as the infinitive verb is not a nominal (see Chapter 4, section 22).

CHAPTER VII

A PROPOSED ANALYSIS OF BRETON

7.0 Presentation

In this chapter I propose to draw together the conclusions of the previous sections of this study in an attempt to integrate them in the context of a coherent framework. It is pertinent to begin by summarising the principal conclusions which have so far been reached. These are as follows:

- (i) The underlying word order of constituents in Breton is VSO.
- (ii) The class of syntactic categories includes NP, PP, VP and S.
- (iii) The constituent of VP is not derived by transformation from an underlying S embedded under the anaphoric '*ober*'

(iv) The conclusion to Chapter 5 was that the best alternative to deriving VP by transformation was to base generate the topicalized VP. Topicalized NPs can also be base generated without adding further complication to the grammar, in particular in all the cases where a resumptive pronoun is retained, the topicalized NP and the pronoun must be generated by the Phrase Structure rules.

Statements (i) and (ii) are contradictory. How can a VSO language show a continuous VP constituent, as it cannot be generated by a Phrase Structure rule of the form:

$$(1) \quad S \rightarrow V \quad NP \quad NP$$

where the first NP on the right of the verb is the subject NP?

A base structure in which S dominates NP and VP has been regarded as a highly desirable structure in the general theory of generative grammar. Thus SVO and VOS are preferable to any possible word order because a structure of either type gives a structural definition of the grammatical

functions subject of; and object of; (Chomsky, 1965, p.69; 1980, p.10), (Emonds, 1976, pp. 16-17; 1979; and 1980, Section I).

Another desirable effect of a base structure NP VP is that subcategorization can be strictly defined in terms of the VP (Chomsky, 1965, p.99). Nonetheless, it has also been argued that subcategorization would have to include the subject NP and in the case of a VSO language there is no alternative but to include the subject NP. As the verb is dominated by S, the subcategorization rule must be applied with reference to every constituent which occurs obligatorily and optionally with the verb. The reader is referred to McCloskey (1979, pp. 184-188) for a formalization of verb subcategorization in a VSO language.

Given that the present analysis of Breton has produced the conflicting statements in (i) and (ii), the immediate task is to see how it is possible to accommodate both VP and S and relate one to the other.

7.1 Deriving VP from S by a Rule of PRO Deletion

Could it be the case that the VP constituents are derived from a non-finite clause containing a subject PRO, as for instance in the English example

- (2) It is unclear who PRO to visit.

Examples of coordination between finite clauses and infinitive verb-phrases have been given in Chapter 4, and that type of coordination is well accepted in Breton. The coordination test has been regarded in the literature (Bach, 1980; Gazdar, 1981) as a means of evaluating the

syntactic status of constituents, on the basis that only constituents of the same syntactic type could coordinate.

- (3) *Skein a reas Anna war an nor ha goulern digor*
 knock do+past Anna on the door and ask(-finite) open
 Anna knocked on the door and asked to be let in.

The underlying structure of the second conjunct must then be

$$\begin{bmatrix} \overline{V} & \text{PRO} & X \end{bmatrix}_S$$

The VP constituent which occurs under topic could be derived from an underlying S by an obligatory rule of PRO deletion.

- (4a) $\begin{matrix} \text{[Lenn PRO ul lizher]} \\ \text{S} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{[a ra Yann]} \\ \text{S} \end{matrix}$
 Topic Read a letter do+pres Yann

Yann reads a letter

- (4b) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Lenn } \emptyset \text{ ul lizher} \\ \text{VP} \\ \text{Topic} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} a \text{ ra Yann} \end{array} \right]$

There are at least two objections to this. On the one hand, such an analysis is not consistent with the grammatical facts outlined earlier, namely that subject deletion is not a sufficient condition for pruning S and replacing it by VP (p.176). On the other hand, a constituent S whether it contains a subject or not, never occurs in the topic position.

The underlying structure (4a) wrongly predicts that a finite complement clause may fill that initial position. Therefore this proposal has to be dismissed.

7.2 The Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar

Alternatively, we may consider a proposal made by Gazdar and Sag (1980) for relating VP to S by metarule within the framework of the Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG). The principles underlying this grammatical framework have been presented in Gazdar, Pullum and Sag (1980), Gazdar and Sag (1980) and Gazdar (1981).

The GPSG differs notably from the transformational theory which has provided the framework of the present analysis. All the structures are generated in the base, and by definition, all transformations are eliminated from the grammar.

Every lexical formative is inserted strictly according to the subcategorization frame assigned to it in the lexicon. Consequently the number of subcategorization entries for a given lexical formative is directly related to the number of syntactic contexts it may occur. The verb 'give' for instance, in Gazdar and Sag (1980) has two subcategorization rules.

give	$\begin{bmatrix} \bar{V} & NP \end{bmatrix}$	and	$\begin{bmatrix} \bar{V} & NP & \begin{bmatrix} PP \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$	(1)
	VP		$\begin{bmatrix} VP & \begin{bmatrix} to \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$	

The GPSG also makes a crucial use of metarules. Metarules are syntactic devices which relate pairs of structures by mapping a phrase-structure rule onto another phrase-structure rule.

(1) The rule given here is not complete - it also includes a semantic rule and a number.

The phrase structure rules produce the following set of rules which form one part of the grammar. The rules are presented in the format adopted for the GPSG.

$$(8) \quad \begin{bmatrix} \bar{S} & X \\ \cdot & \cdot \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{where } X = \text{NP, PP, AP and VP} \\ \begin{bmatrix} V & X \\ \text{VP} & \cdot \end{bmatrix}$$

For every VP rule in the grammar there is a corresponding S rule derived by metarule. This is illustrated in (9).

$$(9a) \quad \begin{bmatrix} V & NP \\ \text{VP} & \cdot \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V & NP & NP \\ S & \cdot & \cdot \end{bmatrix}$$

$[debrin \text{ un } aval]$	$[a \text{ zebr } Yann \text{ un } aval]$
eat an apple	eats Yann an apple

$[lenn \text{ al } lizher]$	$[a \text{ lenn ar } paotr \text{ al } lizher]$
read a letter	reads the boy a letter

$$(9b) \quad \begin{bmatrix} V & NP & PP \\ \text{VP} & \cdot & \cdot \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V & NP & NP & PP \\ S & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \end{bmatrix}$$

$[lakaat \text{ gwer } war \text{ an } daol]$	$[a \text{ laka } Lenaig \text{ gwer } war$
put glasses on the table	puts Lenaig glasses on
	$an \text{ daol}]$
	the table

$$(9c) \quad \left[\begin{array}{cc} v & s \\ \text{VP} & \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{ccc} v & \text{NP} & s \\ s & & \end{array} \right]$$

|gouzout emañ an dud er gêr| |a oar an amezeg eman|
 know are the people knows the neighbour are
 at home an dud er gêr
 the people at home

$$(9d) \quad \left[\begin{array}{cc} v & \\ \text{VP} & \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{cc} v & \text{NP} \\ s & \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{redék} & \\ \text{VP run} & \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{cc} a red ar c'hezeg & \\ s \text{ run the horses} & \end{array} \right]$$

A number of reservations may be expressed with regard to the adoption of the framework of GPSG. The first is that VP rather than S is made the most basic constituent in the grammar. Although a large proportion of verbs, all those with the feature $[-\text{stative}]$ occur in the topicalized VP, the verbs with the feature $[\text{+stative}]$ do not. Many of these verbs denote personal attitude and their semantic subject is often inserted in a prepositional phrase as in (10).

(10) *Breman e fell dezhi mont da*

Now desire to + 3SF go to

She wants to go for a walk.

The verbs listed below do not occur in the topicalized VP.

(11)	<i>Fellout</i>	Desire
	<i>Gallout</i>	Can
	<i>Tapout</i>	Be lucky
	<i>Kavout</i>	Find
	<i>Dleout</i>	Ought
	<i>Rankout</i>	Ought
	<i>Sonjal</i>	Think
	<i>Plijout</i>	Please

Two problems follow for the GPSG framework from this fact.

First there is no VP rule from which to derive the S rule in which these verbs can be inserted. They can be inserted in one context only.

$$(12a) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{PP} \text{ X} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{where} \quad \text{X} = \text{S} \left[+ \text{Finite} \right] \quad \text{or} \\ \text{VP} \left[- \text{Finite} \right]$$

$$(12b) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} a \text{ fell} \left[da \text{ Varia} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} ec'h \text{ afe} \text{ e} \text{ mamm} \text{ ganti} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$$

desire to Maria go her mother with her

Maria wants her mother to go with her

$$(12c) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} a \text{ fell} \quad \left[da \text{ Varia} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} kemer \text{ un} \text{ dakenn} \text{ kafe} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{S} \quad \quad \text{PP} \quad \quad \text{VP} \end{array} \right]$$

desire to Maria take a drop coffee

Maria wants a drop of coffee

$$(13a) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{NP} \text{ X} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{where} \quad \text{X} = \text{VP} \left[- \text{Finite} \right]$$

$$(13b) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} a \text{ rank} \text{ ar} \text{ yaouankiz} \text{ kuitaat} \text{ ar} \text{ vro} \end{array} \right]$$

must the youth leave the country

The youth must leave the country

Of the two constituents VP and S, S is the most inclusive , and whereas the grammar may derive all existing VP constituents from S, it cannot derive all the constituents S from VP - some of the verbs cannot be subcategorised in terms of VP, as they never occur in that context.

Secondly, the metarules as currently stated in the framework require that subcategorization potential must be identical for the two Phrase Structure rules related by metarule. This class of verbs shows that this is not the case for the rule generating topicalized VP structures and the S rule which, according to the metarule formulation, is dependent on it.

Furthermore, Gazdar (1981, p.173) stated that "permissibility of coordination has to be taken as evidence for sameness of syntactic category". In that case, the second conjunct in (2) and here in (14) should be regarded as sentences.

- (14) *Chom a ra un taolig etre daou ha mont*
Stay do(+pres+3S) a little between two and go
adarre war he zrenzoù
again on her doorsteps

She hesitated a little and went again to the door

This construction calls for a few remarks. First of all if the coordination test is paramount, the two constituents must be Ss.

On the other hand, coordination may be of a more complex nature as currently suggested in the literature. This has been commented upon by McCloskey (1979, p.83) and Gazdar (1981, p.172) included a remark on some apparent contradictions to the coordination test.

In the specific Breton context under discussion here, we may consider the possibility that the grammar contains two types of infinitive constructions, VP and S.

However, one matter is certain. There exist in the language certain syntactic environments which are exclusively reserved for VPs. In addition to the topic position, VPs occur in the two aspectual constructions, the progressive one with the particle 'o' (15), and the PP with 'en ur' (16) indicating simultaneity.

(15) *Setu ar person o tont*

Here is the vicar prog come

Here comes the vicar

(16) *Kanañ a reent en ur sevel o gwerenn*

Sing do(past+3P) while raising their glass

They sang while raising their glasses

In neither case could a NP or a finite S be inserted in these contexts. Thus the progressive construction and the preposition 'en ur' strictly require a VP. I leave open to further research the discussion on the syntactic nature of the infinitive phrase in (14) .

I return to the theoretical aspect implied in the application of the coordination test in (14). Assuming that the second conjunct is a non-finite S, the metarule expanding the VP into S does not indicate any insertion of subject.

$$(17a) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \text{X} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{V} \quad \text{X} \end{array} \right]$$

(17b) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \text{mont adarre war he zreizou} \end{array} \right]$
 go again on her doorsteps

(17c) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{mont adarre war he zreizou} \end{array} \right]$
 go again on her doorsteps

The metarule seems to apply vacuously. The proposal made by Borsley (1982) for Welsh Ss and VPs cannot be sustained for Breton. Borsley argued that in Welsh VP and S should be treated as constituents of the same syntactic type. The reason is that the non-finite verb in the VP (19) and the non-finite verb in the clause (18) undergo an identical agreement process.

(18) *Credodd Emrys ei bod yma*
 Believe(+past) Emrys 3S be here
 Emrys believed that he/she was here

(19) *Dylai Gwyn ei hoffi*
 ought Gwyn 3S like
 Gwyn ought to like her/him

The part of the argument based on the similarity of the process in either case is not directly relevant to Breton. Once again, the chief reason for not treating VP and S as constituents of the same syntactic

category is related to the fact that they do not have the same distribution, the VP being allowed to occur under Topic whereas S is not.

The third reason for not adopting the GPSG framework is directly related to the presence of the auxiliary '*ober*' in the neutral positive declarative root clause (see Chapter 3, Section 2.2). The auxiliary '*ober*' is present only when the main verb alone occurs first in the sentence, as in (20).

- (20) *Palad a ra Lommig an douar kaled*
Dig(-finite) do(+pres) Lommig the soil hard

Lommig digs the hard ground

The structure of (20) is (21)

- (21) V AUX X

The reason given in Chapter 3 for analysing '*ober*' as an auxiliary are based on the distribution of '*ober*' and the fact that it is mutually exclusive with either one of the other auxiliaries '*eus*' and '*bezan*'.

- (22) *Paled en deus Lommig an douar kaled*
Dug have (past+3SM) Lommig the soil hard

Lommig has dug the hard soil

- (23) *Paled eo an douar kaled gant Lommig*
Dug be(+pas+pres) the soil hard by Lommig

The hard soil has been dug by Lommig

The auxiliaries '*eus*' and '*bezan*' can occur in structures $[V \text{ AUX } X]$ or $[AUX \text{ V } X]$, but auxiliary '*ober*' is restricted to the former; Whereas structures containing '*eus*' and '*bezan*' can then be related by a metarule, it is not clear how auxiliary '*ober*' could fit into the system, as it must be prevented from being inserted in the $[AUX \text{ V}]$ structure.

Furthermore, in a Phrase Structure of this form, '*ober*' would have a subcategorization rule unrelated to any other verb subcategorization rule.

$$(24) \quad \underset{S}{ober} \quad [\text{ V } \quad \text{ X }]$$

The rule would also need to specify that '*ober*' can only be inserted in root clauses.

Finally, the inclusion of a special subcategorization rule for '*ober*' introduces another expansion rule for S and one which derives a different structure. The S expansion rule in (9) will take the form in (25) when an auxiliary is present, but '*ober*' will be inserted only in (26).

$$(25) \quad \left[\underset{S}{\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+Aux \\ +Finite] \end{array}} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-Finite] \end{array} \quad \text{X} \right]$$

$$(26) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ S \quad [-Finite] \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+Aux \\ +Finite] \end{array} \quad \text{X} \right]$$

The advantage of the transformational analysis over a Phrase Structure Grammar analysis is clearly illustrated in this case. The base rules in (27) can be used to derive all the underlying structures of S, and the

main verb will be shifted around the auxiliary whenever the structural description is met.

$$\begin{array}{lcl} (27) & \bar{S} & \rightarrow \quad X \quad S \\ & S & \rightarrow \quad \text{AUX} \quad V \quad (\text{NP}) \quad (\text{NP}) \quad (\text{PP}) \end{array}$$

In conclusion a GPSG cannot in its present form embrace all the present grammatical facts of the language. The most attractive part concerns the metarule system, which allows S and VP to relate to one another without having necessarily to use a rule in which S dominates the VP. Nonetheless, the generalization embraced by the metarule, namely that a verb can be inserted in a VP or S, can also be adequately covered by lexical redundancy rules operating on the subcategorization rules. This will be discussed shortly. The presence of the auxiliary '*ober*' and its idiosyncratic behaviour creates a major obstacle to adopting the GPSG and therefore I will not pursue this analysis further.

7.3 A Proposed Analysis for Breton

7.30 I shall now turn to the syntactic analysis which I am proposing for Breton, taking into consideration the grammatical phenomena described in the preceding chapters.

This section is divided into three parts. In the first part I shall discuss the Phrase Structure component of the grammar, including the lexicon, the subcategorization rules and the syntactic categories. The second part involves a discussion of the Topicalization process and in the third part I shall present the other transformations which are used in the grammar: main verb shift and auxiliary '*ober*' deletion.

7.31 The Phrase Structure Component

7.311 Subcategorisation

The analysis of Breton defended here has shown that despite the fact that the constituents follow a VSO base order, the grammar also includes a VP constituent. Thus, a priori, there is no reason why the subcategorization rules for verbs could not be stated in terms of the VP, maintaining the strict subcategorization rule for every verb. The relationship between VP and S covered by metarule in the GPSG framework can be captured in the lexicon by a lexical redundancy rule of the form shown in (28).

- (28) Any item $V \begin{bmatrix} + V \\ - N \end{bmatrix}$ which occurs in construction x ($x = VP$) will also occur in construction y ($y = S$). x is identical to y except that y contains an additional NP subject.

However, as already seen in section 7.2 , the subcategorization rule will have to be stated for S, with the redundancy rule defining the VP context from S. This is necessary because of the class of verbs already listed in Section 2 of this chapter, which cannot be inserted in a VP context.

Therefore subcategorization of the verb must be performed in terms of the whole S. The subcategorization rule for every verb will have to include every constituent which may optionally occur in the sentence with it. McCloskey (1979, pp.184-188) has formally described the subcategorization system for a VSO language and his analysis will be adopted here - including the lexical redundancy rule 7 (p.185) which associates every subcategorization frame with another frame which includes the optional adverbial phrases. The rule is reproduced here as (29).

(29) If α is a lexical item which has the features $[+V, +AB \dots N]$, then α has also a feature $[+AB \dots N \text{ PP}]$. For clarification of these features see McCloskey, op cit.

Every verb will have a subcategorization rule in which the subject NP will be stated, as in

$$(30) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} -NP & X \end{bmatrix}$$

In addition to this rule the system will include a lexical redundancy rule applying to the non-stative verbs which can occur in VP.

(31) Any item $V \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \\ -\text{stative} \end{bmatrix}$ which can occur in construction x ($x = S$) will also occur in construction y ($y = VP$).

$$(32) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \\ -\text{stative} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} -NP & X \end{bmatrix}, + \begin{bmatrix} - & X \end{bmatrix}$$

This lexical redundancy rule applying to the non-stative verb is not an isolated case in the lexicon. The active/passive relationship must also be captured in the lexicon. The reason is that active verbs form their perfective aspect with the auxiliary 'eus', but the corresponding passive selects perfective 'bezān' (2).

(2) For a similar argument for Dutch, see Koster (1978, p.232).

(33) *Diskaret en deus Herve ar wezenn derv*
 Fallen have(+perf+pres+3S) Herve the tree oak
 Herve has cut down the oak tree

(34) *Diskaret eo bet ar wezenn derv gant Herve*
 Fallen be(+perf+pres)be(+pas) the tree oak by Herve
 The oak tree has been cut down by Herve

The lexical redundancy rule is formulated in (35).

(35) Any active verb with the subcategorization rule $+[-NP]$ will also
 have the subcategorization rule
 $+ [\textit{bezañ} - et (gant - NP)]$
 $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \end{bmatrix} + [-NP] , + [\textit{bezañ} - et (gant - NP)]$

Subcategorization need not be a problem especially as lexical
 redundancy rules can relate systematically the syntactic frames in which
 a lexical formative can occur, VP and S.

7.312 The category of VP

Having accepted the established fact that a VP can occur in a VSO
 language and that this fact should not be characterised by deriving the
 VP by transformation from an underlying S, there is no option but to
 dissociate the VP from S. In other words, VP does not derive from the
 expansion of S by rule similar to the phrase structure rule expanding
 S in English or French or any SVO language.

(36a) $S \rightarrow NP \quad VP$

which in X-bar syntax is written as

(36b) $\bar{\bar{V}} \rightarrow \bar{N} \quad \bar{V}$

(36b) shows that $\bar{\bar{V}}$ is the projection of the lexical category V through the hierarchy \bar{V} and \bar{N} in the configuration (36c) which is described by Jackendoff (1977, p.30).

(36c)

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \bar{\bar{X}} \\
 \\
 \dots \quad \bar{X} \quad \dots \\
 \\
 \bar{X} \\
 \\
 X
 \end{array}$$

The view that \bar{S} and S are not of the same syntactic category as VP or $\bar{\bar{V}}$ (or \bar{V} depending on the analysis) has been defended by Hornstein (1977).

His arguments are based on the finding that by excluding S from the X-bar convention (expansion rules of the form $\bar{\bar{X}} \rightarrow \dots \bar{X} \dots$, Hornstein, 1977, p.158) the transformational rules could be formulated for a category X with a given number of bars (or categories of the same type). Thus, negative placement in English attaches 'neg' to a $\bar{\bar{X}}$: $\bar{\bar{V}}$ or $\bar{\bar{N}}$. The rule of \bar{X} deletion generalizes over \bar{V} , \bar{N} or \bar{P} . S and \bar{S} are not involved in those rules.

McCloskey (1979, p.100, 190; 1982) reaffirmed that in a VSO language like Irish, S and \bar{S} are not verbal categories. Finally, Bresnan (1981, p.14) has stated that S is an exocentric category in all languages "because it is the projection of no lexical category". In other words S is not a member of the syntactic categories which can be determined by the features $\begin{bmatrix} + & \bar{V} \end{bmatrix}$, $\begin{bmatrix} + & \bar{N} \end{bmatrix}$.

The arguments put forward by Hornstein (1977) for excluding S from the X-bar system are also true for Breton. Whereas a category V, N and P of the same X-bar type can appear under Topic, S is always excluded. S is also excluded from a cleft construction, but every other category appears freely in cleft.

For that reason, S cannot be dominated by a NP node as it is in Wojcik (1976b). If it did, the configuration would wrongly predict that a finite complement clause could be preposed.

7.313 X-bar syntax applied to Breton

In this section I shall be describing the syntactic categories of the grammar and how they relate by Phrase Structure rules. The syntactic categories are described in terms of features and types. The major features are $\begin{bmatrix} + & \bar{V} \end{bmatrix}$ and $\begin{bmatrix} + & \bar{N} \end{bmatrix}$, as in Bresnan (1976). Major types are defined in terms of the number of bars, \bar{X} , $X^n \dots X^k$, and they correspond to the phrasal categories.

The major syntactic categories defined by the features $\begin{bmatrix} + & \bar{V} \\ - & \bar{N} \end{bmatrix}$ are the verbs, the nouns, the prepositions and the adjectives

$$V \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -N \end{bmatrix} , \quad N \begin{bmatrix} -V \\ +N \end{bmatrix} , \quad A \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +N \end{bmatrix} , \quad P \begin{bmatrix} -V \\ -N \end{bmatrix}$$

The head X^0 is a lexical formative. It is listed in the lexicon which specifies its phonological distinctive features, its syntactic feature, and a semantic translation rule.

The syntactic features subdivide into category features and subcategorization features which specify the context in which a lexical formative may be inserted. For instance, the transitive verb '*lenn*' (to read) will have the subcategorization features as in rule (37), intransitive '*mont*' (to go) (38), '*lakaat*' (to put) (39).

These verbs have the features $[-\text{stative}]$ which indicates they may also be inserted in a \bar{V} context.

$$(37) \quad \underset{S}{lenn} \left[- \bar{N} \left(\bar{N} \right) \right], \quad \underset{\bar{V}}{\left[- \bar{N} \right]}$$

$$(38) \quad \underset{S}{mont} \left[- \bar{N} \right], \quad \underset{\bar{V}}{\left[- \right]}$$

$$(39) \quad \underset{S}{lakaat} \left[- \bar{N} \quad \bar{N} \quad \bar{P} \right], \quad \underset{\bar{V}}{\left[- \bar{N} \quad \bar{P} \right]}$$

The verbs with the feature $[+\text{stative}]$ will have only one subcategorization frame

$$(40) \quad \underset{S}{fellout} \left[- \bar{P} \quad S \right]$$

$$(41) \quad \underset{S}{plijout} \left[- \bar{N} \quad \bar{P} \right]$$

7.314 The Phrase Structure rules

The set of supercategories and lexical categories are related by Phrase Structure rules of the form:

$$X^n \rightarrow \dots X^{n-1} \dots$$

The supercategory has a maximum level of two bars $\bar{\bar{X}}$, and the syntactic categories are of three types X^0 , \bar{X} and $\bar{\bar{X}}$. The Phrase Structure rules also include a category specifier which appears to the left of $\bar{\bar{X}}$. it covers, determiners, numerals and other degree words as in (33).

<i>Ar vag,</i>	<i>Div vag,</i>	<i>Re o'hlas</i>
The boat	Two boats	Too blue

The Phrase Structure Rules.

(i) $\bar{\bar{S}} \rightarrow \bar{\bar{X}} \quad S$
 $\bar{\bar{X}}$ includes $\bar{\bar{N}}, \bar{\bar{P}}, \bar{\bar{A}}, \bar{\bar{V}}$.

(ii) $\bar{\bar{N}} \rightarrow \text{Spc } \bar{\bar{N}} \quad \begin{matrix} \bar{\bar{N}} \\ \bar{\bar{P}} \\ S \end{matrix}$

(iii) $\bar{\bar{N}} \rightarrow N \quad \bar{\bar{A}} \quad N = \text{nominal pro}$

(iv) $\bar{\bar{P}} \rightarrow \bar{\bar{P}} \quad \begin{matrix} \bar{\bar{N}} \\ \bar{\bar{P}} \\ \bar{\bar{V}} \\ S \end{matrix}$

- (v) $\bar{P} \rightarrow P$
- (vi) $\bar{A} \rightarrow \text{Spc } \bar{A} \quad \bar{P}$
 $\bar{A} \rightarrow A$
- (vii) $\bar{V} \rightarrow \bar{V} \quad \bar{P}$
- (viii) $\bar{V} \rightarrow V \quad \bar{N} \quad \bar{P} \quad S$
- (ix) $S \rightarrow \text{AUX } V \quad (\bar{N}) \quad (\bar{N}) \quad (\bar{P}) \quad (S)$

One remark can be made with regard to using the X-bar system. The category V in the expansion of S is of the category type X^0 . The X-bar system might appear to fail for VSO languages since they have a base order in which the supercategory of V is never realized. This might be taken as evidence against the X-bar claim that all the major syntactic categories define a set of categories $\bar{X}, \bar{X}, \dots, X^k$, the supercategories of X. V is a major and perhaps the most central syntactic category of all. However, evidence for VP or \bar{V} could then be taken as evidence against this postulated view that VSO languages such as Breton are counter-examples to the X-bar analysis.

7.32 Topicalization

7.321 The WH movement analysis of topicalization

Chomsky (1977) proposed that topicalization might be analysed as one instance of a more general phenomenon, WH movement. Topics are generated in the base, and inside the clause; the base rules also generate a WH constituent. The WH constituent is moved into the first COMP and then by a cyclic movement it moves to the left-most COMP, where

it deletes freely.

- (42) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Topic} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{COMP} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \dots \\ S \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{COMP} \\ S \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} X \\ S \end{array} \dots X \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$
- $[+WH]$

Anderson (1981) noted that a WH movement could not be used to explain the topicalization of the VP constituent. The reason is that anaphoric 'ober' is not followed by a gap in which the WH constituent could be inserted (see Chapter 3). There is no instance of this 'ober' being followed by the VP which may topicalize.

- (43)* *Bremañ a ra Maria gwerzhañ krampouezh*
 now does Maria sell pancakes

Moreover, it has also been argued in Chapter 2 that there is not sufficient evidence to include a COMP node in front of every S, as the language does not possess an overt complementizer. The COMP node is the necessary device for allowing the COMP to COMP movement rule to operate, without violating the conditions on movement (Chomsky, 1973, 1977).

Furthermore, a topic is never present in an embedded position, as it may be in English.

- (44)* $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Lavaret a zo} \\ \text{Said} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} d'ar \\ \text{be+pres} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} skolidi \\ \text{to+the students} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [al levrioù \\ \text{the books} \\ \text{TOPIC} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [a prenfont] \\ \text{buy+3P} \end{array} \right]$

The students have been told that the books they will buy

The WH movement does not exist for relative clauses either. The particle 'a' is not a relative pronoun, thus only a deletion rule can account for the

relativised structure (45).

- (45) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{[Ar} & \text{c'hasker bara} & \text{[a welont} & \text{.... alies [} & \text{a zo} & \text{war-dro]} & \text{]} \\ \text{NP} & & \text{S} & & & & \text{S} \end{array}$
The beggar see+3P often be+pres around

The beggar they see often, is around.

7.322 Topicalization in Breton

Two different structures are associated with topicalization. In one case the topicalised constituent is linked to an empty position inside the clause; in the other, it is linked to an anaphoric element. There are two anaphoric types of element, or three if we include the empty position; the anaphoric pronouns and anaphoric 'ober'. This in itself is not a problem, as the semantic interpretation relates the antecedent to its bound anaphora and determines the correct translation.

The discussion on the topicalization will be centred around the process involving NP topicalization and the presence or absence of a resumptive pronoun inside the clause. This is by far the most complex aspect of topicalization.

Two factors intervene in the topicalization of NP; one is the island constraint phenomenon and the other the Accessibility Hierarchy defined by Keenan and Comrie (1977). The syntactic islands referred to in this section are complex noun phrases according to Ross' complex NP constraint, and prepositional phrases (Baltin, 1978). Syntactic islands block the deletion of constituents; in the case of topicalization, a resumptive pronoun appears where the NP may have been inserted in a non-topicalized structure.

(46) *Ma mab am boa bet ul lizher digantañ*

My son have+past+1S had a letter from+3SM

I had a letter from my son

(47) *Lenaig am eus kavet e botoù-koad e-barzh ar prez*

Lenaig have+pres+1S found her clogs inside the cupboard

I have found Lenaig's clogs in the cupboard

The Accessibility Hierarchy can explain why topicalization obligatorily leaves a resumptive pronoun in PPs or oblique constructions, while the pronoun is optional in object position, and not present in subject position. This pattern is not, however, carried over into negative constructions: the object deletes optionally but, when the subject NP is topicalized, the verb always inflects for the same person and number.

Topicalization of object NP in affirmative and negative sentences.

(48) *An nor-se a vo ret prenañ anezhi*

The door -demons. be+fut necessary lock it

That door must be locked

(49) *An nor-se a vo ret prenañ*

The door-demonst. be+fut necessary lock

That door must lock

(50) *Ar yaouankizou` ne ouzont ket petra ober*

The youngsters neg know+3P neg what to do

The youngsters do not know what to do

(51) *Ar yaouankizou` a oar petra ober*

The youngsters know+pres what to do

The youngsters know what to do

It will be argued later in this section that the person inflection on the negative verb is part of the agreement process, rather than the result of any other general principle which may underline the topicalization rule.

7.323 A deletion analysis

Topicalization could be accounted for in two ways. It may be the result of a deletion rule, deleting a constituent bound by the constituent under TOPIC. A PP is always deleted, as no anaphoric element is ever present in the position affected by the rule. Bare prepositions do not stand alone in Breton; they are deleted or retained with a resumptive pronoun.

A NP is, therefore, deleted under the circumstances related to the Hierarchy Principle.

On the other hand, we may consider an analysis in which the empty positions as well as the resumptive pronouns are generated in the base.

Let us consider the deletion analysis first. It is an unbounded rule, applying over a variable. The target of the deletion may be

separated from the controller by any arbitrary length of material (Bresnan, 1976).

The deletion is not free to apply in any environment, it must be constrained by a set of conditions which are determined by the Hierarchy Accessibility constraint. The Breton facts outlined here are very similar to those examined by McCloskey (1979). I shall include in the Topicalizationrule a similar set of conditions (McCloskey, 1979, p.122).

Topicalization rule

(52) Rule of deletion.

SD	NP	X NP Y
	i		+ pro j	
	1	2	3	4
	1	2	∅	4

⇒

Conditions

- (i) obligatory if term 3 is subject in its clause
- (ii) optional if term 3 is direct object in its clause
- (iii) inapplicable if term 3 is neither subject nor direct object in its clause
- (iv) $i = j$.

The rule will correctly derive sentences (45), (46), (47), (48), (49) and (50). Nonetheless, it has attached to it a set of conditions which make it context-particular rather than general.

7.324 Topicalization and the empty category principle

Harlow (1981) proposed to eliminate all the conditions above, by reformulating the rule, as an obligatory rule of deletion, determined by a general principal of Universal Grammar - the Empty Category Principle stated in Government and Binding (Chomsky, 1981, p.250). A category

α $[e]$ must be governed.

Government determines the case of a NP and also the type of control the NP is submitted to according to its type: anaphora, pronominal, lexical NP.

Government is defined structurally as follows:

α governs β if and only if α minimally c-commands β and

(a) $\alpha = N, V, A, P$ (lexical categories)

(b) $\alpha =$ is co-indexed with β .

An empty category must then be coindexed within its governing category.

Harlow's (1981) argument is based on the type of agreement features existing in Welsh which are in many ways similar to those of Breton, discussed in Chapters 2 and 5. He also claims that the contrast existing between a sentence retaining the strong pronoun with the inflection on the preposition or the possessive NP is explained by the type of pronominal inserted in the base. If the pronoun is retained, the NP has the feature $[+pro]$, if it is not, it has the feature $[PRO]$, the pronominal without a phonetic matrix. Thus the contrast in PPs can be shown in (53) and in possessive NPs in (54).

(53a) Al lev~~n~~-se a zo ganin me
 [gant pro]
 PP

That book is with+1S 1S

That book is with me

I have that book

(53b) Al levr-se a zo ganin
 [gant - PRO]
 PP

(54a) *Gwelet am eus [e dad eñ]*
 clitic father pro
 NP

I have seen his father

(54b) Gwelet am eus [e dad]
clitic father PRO
NP

In (53b) PRO deletion is possible because the empty category is governed by INFLECTION. The underlying structures of (53b) and (54b) are then (55) and 56), respectively.

(55) *Az levr-se a zo [P gan [AGR in] [e]]*
PP INFL NP

(56) *Gwellet am eus* [INFL [*e*] *dad*] [*e*]
 NP Det NP NP

The following part of the argument as it may be transposed to Breton, is that Topicalization is realized by an obligatory rule of PRO deletion, and the evidence is that the pronoun is never realized in those cases. The (b) sentences are ungrammatical.

(57a) *Yann a zo ul levr gantañ*

Yann be+pres a book with+3SM

Yann has a book

(57b)* *Yann a zo ul levr gantañ eñ*

(58a) *Yann en deus kavet e dad*

Yann have(+perf+pres) found his father

Yann has found his father

(58b)* *Yann en deus kavet e dad eñ*

In Harlow's analysis the target of the deletion rule is the element PRO.

However, there is good evidence that this is not the correct approach for Breton, and that the target of deletion is not PRO, but the pronominal inflection on the preposition itself.

The phonological pattern of inflected prepositions is not uniform. In particular, the stress does not fall on the same syllable in every case. For the first and second persons, the stress falls on the last syllable, whereas for the third person it falls on the penultimate, according to the general rule in the language. This is illustrated below

in (59), which shows the paradigm of the preposition 'gant' (with)⁽³⁾.

		singular	plural
(59)	1	/ga'nin/	/ga'nimp/
	2	/ga'nit/	/ga'noc'h/
	3M	/gantān/	/'ganto/
	3F	/'ganti/	

As the stress falls on the last syllable for the first and second person, ^{pronouns} the pronoun may be retained and the whole phonological unit shows the normal pattern, with the stress on the penultimate syllable

/ga'nime/ /ga'nite/

Furthermore, in topic position, where the third person pronoun may be retained, the first and second allow a repetition of the pronoun.

(60a) *Ganime me eman al levr*

With+1S 1S 1S the book

The book is with me

(60b) *Ganite te eman al levr*

With+2S 2S 1S the book

The book is with you

(3) I am grateful to Steve Hewitt for discussing this point with me.

See also Leclerc, 1911, p.230.

(60c) *Gantañ eñ emañ al levr*

With+3SM 3SM is the book

The book is with him

(60d) *Ganti hi emañ al levr*

With+3S 3SF is the book

The book is with her

The first and second person^{pronouns} may also occur in the PP, when the pronominal NP is topicalized. Examples⁶¹ are acceptable.

(61a) *Me a sonje din me ne vije ket arruet*

I think(+past) to+1S 1S neg be(+ +3S) arrived

I thought that he/she would not have arrived

(61b) *Te a gaso an traoù-se ganit-te*

You take(+fut) the things-demonst. with+2S 2S

You will take those things with you

Once more the third person pronouns behave differently in not retaining the pronoun after the inflected preposition.

(62a)* *Eñ a gav dezhañ eñ eo brav ar vro*

He find+pres to+3SM 3SM is lovely the country

He finds the country lovely

(62b)**Int a vez roet re a labour dezho int*

They given too of work to+3P 3P

They are given too much work

These facts indicate that the third person inflection on the preposition has the value of a pronoun. The conclusion must then be that a resumptive pronoun is retained when Topicalization applies to a NP which is related to a position inside a PP. This also confirms that prepositional phrases form syntactic islands. It must also be taken as an indication that agreement is a process which has to be treated separately from topicalization. This is also confirmed by the contrast between affirmative and negative topicalised structures in (63a) and (b).

(63a) *Ar vugale a sav abred*

The children get up early

The children get up early

(63b) *Ar vugale ne savont ket abred*

The children neg get up(+pres+3P) neg early

The children do not get up early

In Harlow (1981), the same contrast between affirmative and negative occurs whenever the subject or the object NP is relativized (64a, b; 65a, b).

(64a) *Y dynion a darllenodd y llyfr*

The men read the book

(64b) *Y dynion na darllenasant y llyfr*

The men neg read+3P the book

The men did not read the book

(65a) *Y llyfr a ddarllennai i*

The book read+1S I

The book I read

(65b) *Y llyfr na ddarllennai i ef*

The book neg read+1S I it

The book I did not read

Breton differs from Welsh in that respect. Topicalization of the object is similar in affirmative and negative; it results in either a gap or a resumptive pronoun.

(66a) *Al levr nevez a lenn ar vugale....*

The book new read the children

The children read the new book

(66b) *Al levr nevez ne lenn ket ar vugale*

The book new neg read neg the children

The children do not read the new book

(66c) *Al levr nevez a lenn ar vugale anezhañ*

The book new read the children it

The children read the new book

(66d) *Al levr nevez ne lenn ket ar vugale anezhañ*

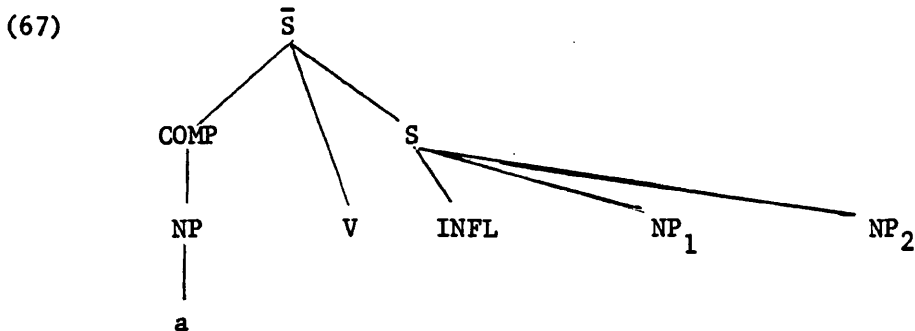
The book new neg read neg the children it

The children do not read the new book

Once more the Agreement facts are not consistent with the Topicalization process and thus Agreement and Topicalization should be maintained as two processes independent of one another.

Another reason for treating Agreement as a process on its own is that perfective 'eus' is inflected for person, in all circumstances, whether topicalization has applied or not, and in negative and affirmative sentences alike.

Harlow's analysis depends crucially on a number of facts which do not hold in the Breton language. One is that he has analysed the verbal particle 'a' as a relative pronoun, which is placed in the COMP node preceding S in the configuration (67).

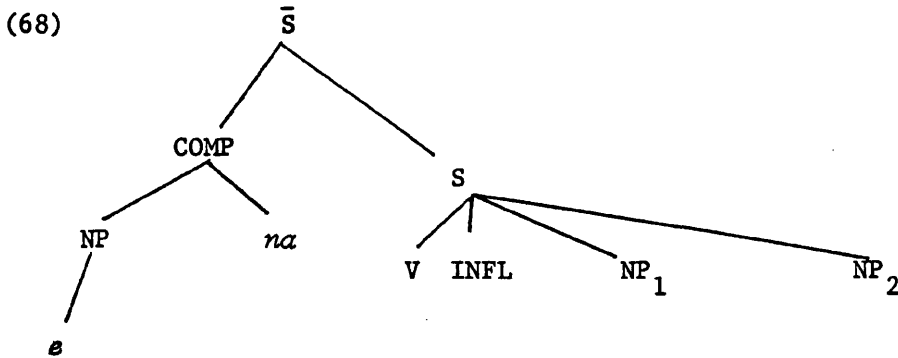


NP₁ = subject

NP₂ = object

In this configuration any empty NP category $\begin{smallmatrix} [e] \\ \text{NP} \end{smallmatrix}$ is governed by the relative pronoun 'a', therefore 53(a) with the subject and (54a) with the relativized object are grammatical.

(54b) and (65b) cannot contain an empty category because the negative particle 'na' is a complementiser and intervenes between the NP in COMP and the NP inside the clause. Deletion is not possible, because it would violate the ECP, as $\begin{smallmatrix} [e] \\ \text{NP} \end{smallmatrix}$ would not be governed in (68).



The configurations (67) and (68) do not exist in Breton, the particle 'a' is not a relative pronoun, nor a complementizer and 'ne', the negative particle, is not a complementizer either. Furthermore, the COMP node is not present in the Phrase Structure of Breton.

The following sentence of Breton (69) has the structure illustrated in (70).

(69) *Ar Malvinas a ouier dre sur e*

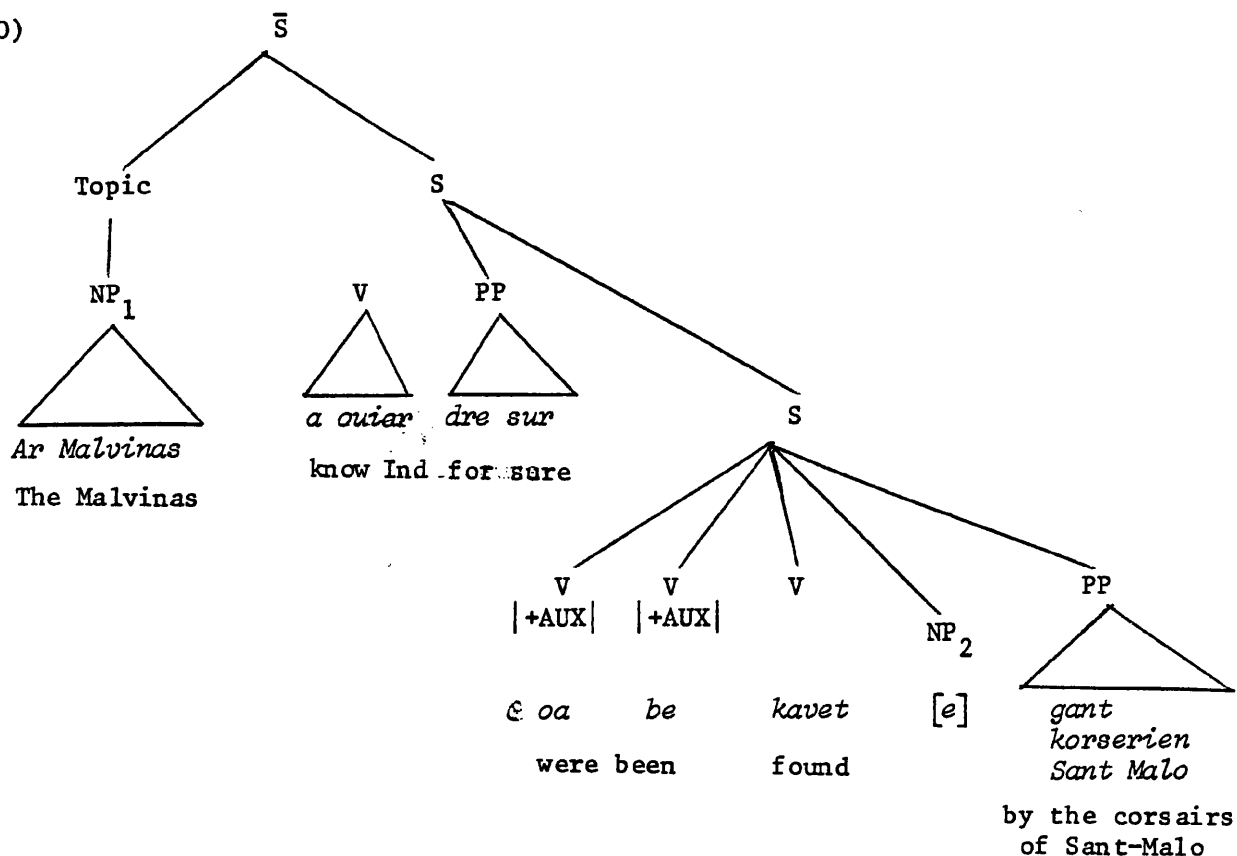
The Malvinas know+pres+ Ind for sure

oa bet kavet gant korserien sant Malo

have+past been found by corsairs Sant Malo

We know for sure that the Malvinas had been discovered by the corsairs from Sant-Malo.

(70)



The NP [e] under NP₂ is not governed by a relative pronoun nor is it controlled by it. It is still governed by the verb in its category S, but it has no controller in its governing category.

The attempt to capture the topicalization process under the general principle of ECP, breaks down. It breaks down for two reasons; one is that Agreement and Topicalization are two independent processes, the second is that the necessary structural conditions for the analysis to carry through are not met.

Furthermore, the analysis defended by Harlow (1981) is crucially dependent on opting for a base order of constituents SVO, and on the insertion by transformation of the perfective auxiliary 'gmeud'. (Harlow, 1981, p.235). 'Gmeud' is featured as a higher verb taking a VP complement.

Once again the two analyses differ considerably. Breton, as has been argued here, is a VSO language, which has a base order VSO, and the perfective auxiliary is also generated in the base.

It may also be added that if the distinction between PRO and pro is to be maintained, the NP₂ in (59) must have contained a pro, since PRO cannot be governed in Chomsky's theory of government and binding⁽⁴⁾.

However, topicalization can still be defined in terms of the general principle - the principle of bound anaphora defined in Reinhart (1980).

7.325 The principle of bound anaphora

Following the theory outlined by Reinhart that only the pronoun which is assigned a bound variable can be involved in the topicalization process, the other pronouns in the sentence are assigned a free variable and they may be interpreted as having a referent outside the sentence, or as coreferent with an antecedent when the pronoun is bound in its minimal category. The co-indexing procedure which defines the bound anaphora principle given by Reinhart (1980, no. 54) is presented here as (71).

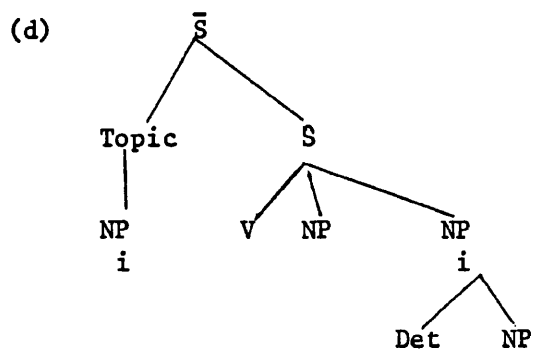
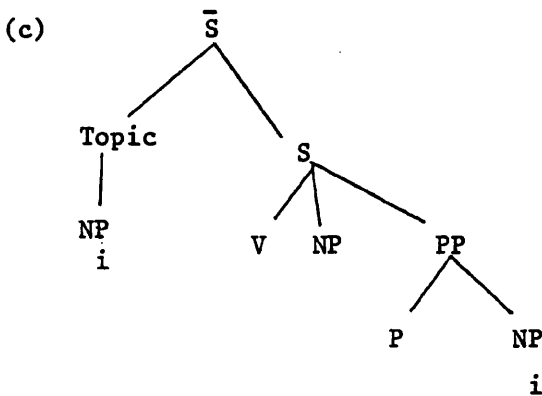
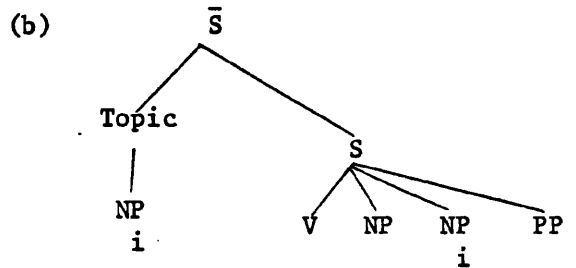
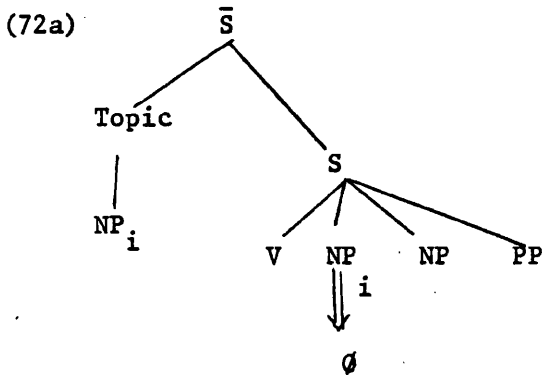
(71) Co-index a pronoun P with a C-commanding NP α .

Conditions (a) If P is an R-pronoun α must be its minimal category

(4) This view was also expressed by Borsley at the LAGB conference at Reading, March 1982 in his presentation "Missing NPs in Welsh".

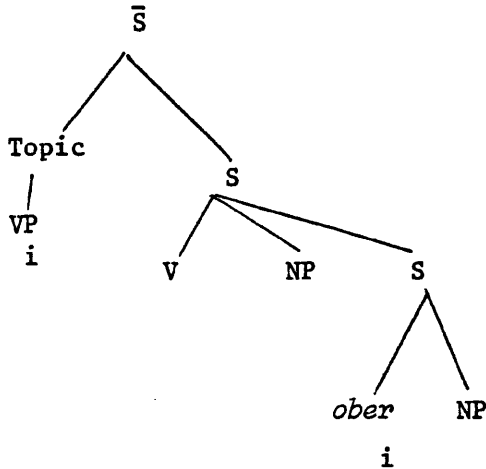
- (b) If P is non-R-pronoun α must be outside its minimal governing categories.

In every topicalized structure the antecedent is always outside S, therefore it cannot be one of the governing categories which are S, N, V, P. Secondly, in every structure the antecedent precedes and commands, and also C-commands the bound anaphora. The structures below illustrate the structural configurations in which topicalization is involved.

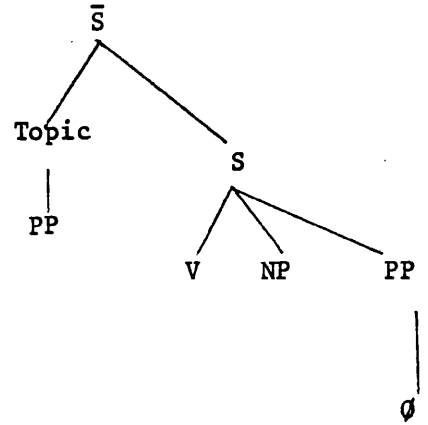


VP topicalization

(72e)



(f)



In the deletion analysis outlined here the topicalisation process involves a rule of pronoun deletion, which is bound by the NP under TOPIC. The rule is constrained by the principle of Hierarchy Accessibility, following which deletion does not apply to the bound pronoun in the PP, and applies optionally to object NPs.

In the cases involving PP topicalization, the whole PP position is empty, as the presence of a bare preposition produces ungrammaticality.

(73)* *Piv e vo skrivet da*

Who be(+fut) written to

Should the empty node linked with topicalization of PP be generated in the base, and the analysis extended to other empty categories?

I shall first look into the empty categories associated with NP topicalization. A [NP e] would be generated in subject and object position.

7.326 Summary of the analysis of topicalization

Topicalization produces two different structure types; one in which an empty position marks the site of the topicalized constituent; the other in which a resumptive element fills the position.

In the cases of NP topicalization, the empty position inside S has resulted from the deletion of a pronoun, which is obligatorily bound to the antecedent under TOPIC. The same binding relationship holds between the resumptive pronoun and the topicalized NP. In each case the pronoun is assigned a bound variable according to the principle defined by Reinhart (1980) through the co-indexing rule (71) (54 in Reinhart).

The analysis of bound anaphora interpretation can easily be extended to cover anaphoric '*ober*' and the topicalized VP. Finally, in the same way it will also cover the empty node, which is base generated in the cases of PP and adverbials.

The deletion rule associated with topicalization respects both the island constraint and the Hierarchy Accessibility constraint.

All these facts coupled with the idiosyncratic agreement pattern holding for prepositions and verbs, makes it difficult to generalize topicalization as an obligatory deletion rule, deleting an element PRO in accordance with the general principle of grammar, the Empty Category Principle, as argued by Harlow (1981).

I propose then to restate in (75) the rule of deletion required for topicalization given in (43).

Topicalization

(75) Deletion Rule.

SD	NP	X	...	NP	...	Y
	i			+pro j		
	1	2		3	4	→
	1	2		∅	4	

Conditions:

- (i) Obligatory if term 3 is subject in its clause.
- (ii) Optional if term 3 is direct object in its clause.
- (iii) Inapplicable if term 3 is neither subject nor direct object in its clause.
- (iv) $i = j$.
- (v) Deletion of subject applies prior to subject/verb to agreement in affirmative.
- (vi) Deletion of subject pronoun applies after subject verb agreement in negative.

Two more rules must be stated in the grammar. The main verb auxiliary shift which derives the correct surface structure in the neutral positive declarative root clause, and the rule of 'ober' deletion which must be obligatory to eliminate every instance of 'ober' in embedded clauses, negatives and topicalized structures.

7.4 Two Obligatory Transformations

Main Verb Auxiliary Inversion

This is the obligatory rule which is necessary to derive the surface order main verb auxiliary which occurs in the neutral positive declarative root sentence.

Evan a ra Yannig kafe du

Drink do(+pres)Yannig coffee black

Yannig drinks black coffee

Evet en deus Yannig kafe du

Drunk have(+pres+3SM) Yannig coffee black

Yannig has drunk black coffee

S	D:	AUX	V [-finite]	X
		1	2	3
	2	1	∅	3

⇒

'Ober' - Auxiliary Deletion

This rule deletes 'ober' in the negative, embedded and topicalized structures.

SD:	X	Ober	V	Y
	1	2	3	4
	1	∅	3	4

⇒

7.5 Conclusion

The syntactic component of the grammar of Breton outlined here contains three components: a lexicon, a Phrase Structure component and a transformational component.

The lexicon contains in addition to the list of lexical formatives and their subcategorization rules, a few lexical redundancy rules, which relate the various parts of syntactic contexts into which the verbs are inserted. In particular, they allow the relationship between S and VP to be stated for every verb.

The main aspect of the Phrase Structure component has the unusual property that the Phrase-Structure rules do not relate \bar{V} to S. The category S and \bar{S} are not included in the grammatical categories of X-bar syntax; in particular they are not the projection of the major categories V, N, A, P.

The auxiliary 'ober' can only be adequately accounted for by a grammar using transformations. This is the chief reason for not adopting a Phrase Structure grammar analysis.

Topicalization is treated as a deletion rule operating on pronouns bound by the topicalized NP. It also involves a rule of interpretation between the antecedent and the anaphoric element inside the clause. Topicalized PP and adverbs do not have anaphoric elements inside the clause, their position is simply marked by an empty node.

The whole process of topicalization is determined by the general principle of bound anaphor^{%,} according to which an anaphor must be assigned a bound variable^{interpretation} which determines its correct interpretation within the context. The rule for bound anaphor ensures that the pronoun bound by a topicalized antecedent will not be interpreted pragmatically, as it may be if assigned a free variable.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Two main aspects have been discussed in this thesis.

Firstly, Breton is a VSO language. This holds true in spite of the presence of a syntactic constituent of VP.

An attempt to analyze Breton as a SVO language has proved incompatible with the syntactic characteristics of the language.

Secondly, topics are generated by the phrase-structure rules; therefore the base structure is very close to the surface structure. Nonetheless, transformations are still required; a movement transformation to derive the correct surface structure of the neutral root clause, and a rule of auxiliary deletion. A rule of pronoun deletion is also involved in the topicalization process.

However, it is likely that further developments in syntactic theory towards non-transformational frameworks will certainly provide alternatives to the transformational analysis included in the present study.

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